THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN

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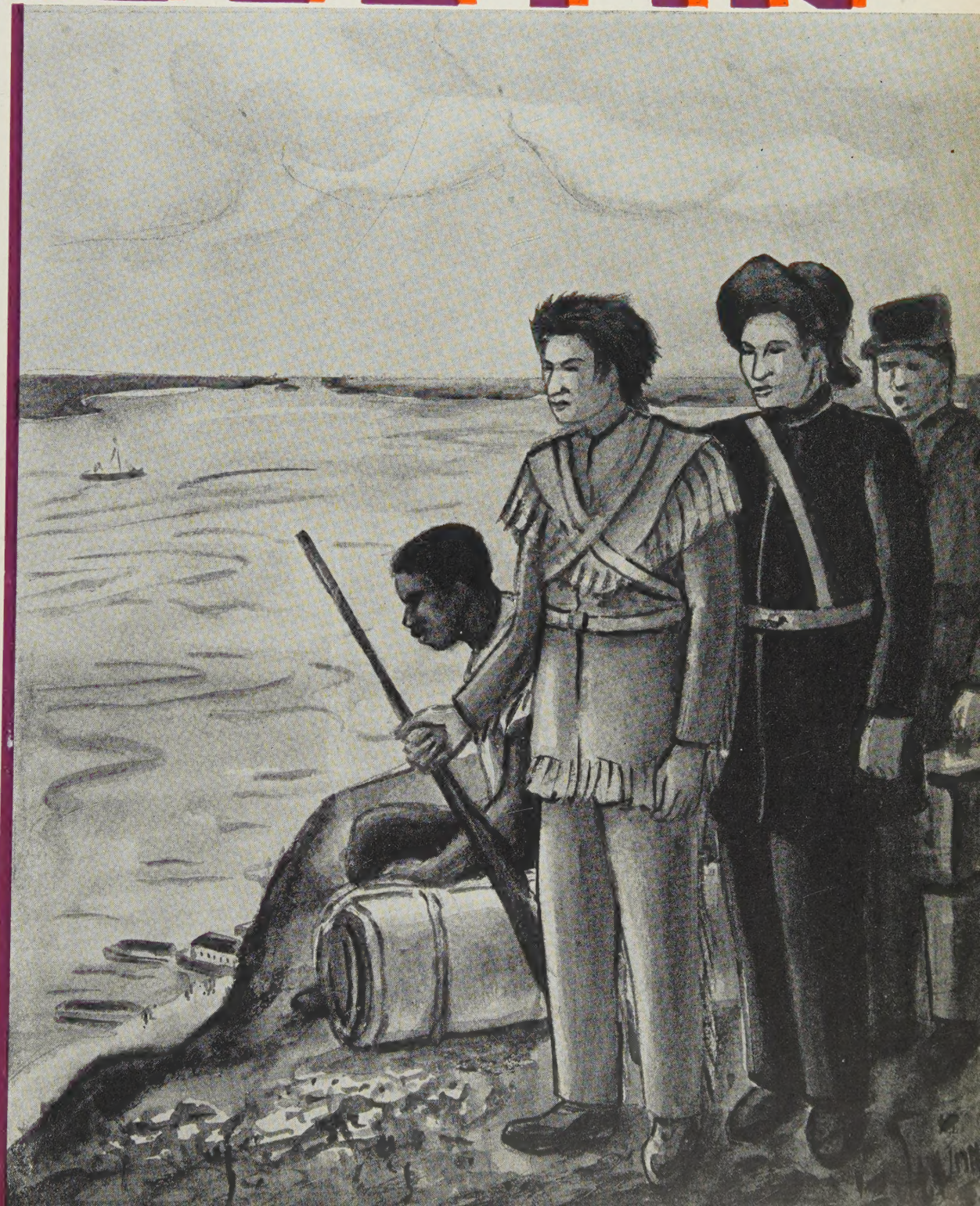

THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN
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CONTENTS

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FOUNDER OF CENTRALIA
By Robert W. O'Brien

THE NEGRO IN THE NORTHWEST BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR
By Robert W. O'Brien and Bernard E. Squires

THE NEGRO IN THE FAR WEST

GEORGE BOXLEY, PROTOTYPE OF JOHN BROWN
By Joseph C. Carroll

ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS OF PREJUDICE IN THE UNITED STATES

NEGRO CULTURE IN RETROSPECT
By Verna Arvey

NEGRO LIFE IN BRITISH GUIANA
By Albert E. Wilson Eastman

CHARLES LEWIS REASON
By Anthony R. Mayo

CHILDREN'S PAGE
By Lois M. Jones

RECENT BOOKS

QUESTIONS ON THE MAY ISSUE

BOOK OF THE MONTH

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FOUNDER OF CENTRALIA

A WHITE marble seat in Centralia's city park carries the inscription: "In memory of George Washington, donor of this park."[1] George Washington was more than the donor of a park, he founded the city of Centralia, Washington, in 1875.

Born in Frederick County, Virginia, on August 15, 1817, of a Negro slave father and a white mother, George was raised by the Cochran's, pioneering friends of his mother. When the lad was four he moved from Virginia into Ohio. Five years later they were in northern Missouri.

At ten, George had killed several deer. As he grew older, he acquired such skill with the rifle that he could hit a tack at forty yards. He also learned to cook, spin, weave, and make his own shirts and trousers. In tanning beef hides he used a special preparation and worked them until the finished product was as pliable as buckskin.

By 1837 George Washington and the Cochrans had moved to Bloomington, Missouri, where they erected a grist mill and a distillery. There he branched out for himself, first as a tailor and later as a sawmill owner. Then for the first time in his life, he encountered real difficulty. He sold a bill of lumber to a certain Jeremiah Coyle, taking a note in payment. However, Coyle refused to pay, claiming that although Mr. Washington was a free man of color, he had no rights in the state of Missouri.

The state was made the plaintiff and the trial attracted a great deal of interest. In the meantime, the Missouri legislature gave him all the privileges of a citizen, except that of holding office.

Some time later he went to Illinois and purchased a patent right for making whiskey and bought equipment for putting out a barrel a day. After building his distillery he found that the legislature, then in session, passed a bill prohibiting any person of color from manufacturing, handling, or selling spiritous or malt liquors.

In disgust in the spring of 1850, he sold everything, purchased four yoke of oxen and with his foster parents, the Cochrans organized an expedition to the Oregon Country. One hundred and seventeen days later they arrived in Oregon City, where Washington sold his cattle and rented a place for the Cochrans. He went back to work slashing and cutting timber for $90 a month and board.

Three months later, however, he became seriously ill and was taken to the hospital at the Vancouver Barracks. One day before his recovery another woman accompanied Mrs. Cochran to the hospital. After the stranger had left, George Washington learned that it was his mother who had remarried and moved West. He never saw either his mother or father again.

When completely recovered he moved north on the Chehalis

[1]Acknowledgment for material for this article should go to Dorothy Mae Riggs who published a series of stories on the life of George Washington in the *Centralia Chronicle* during September 1941. Credit also should be given the Seattle Urban League and the libraries of the University of Washington and State College of Washington.

(*Continued on page* 197)

THE NEGRO IN THE NORTHWEST BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

THE first Negro known to have reached the Pacific Northwest was Marcus Lopez who arrived in 1788 with Captain Robert Gray and met his death the same year at the hands of the Indians, soon after the discovery of the Columbia River.[1] Seventeen years later, York, the body servant of Captain Clark, came West with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, attracting the attention of the Indians all across the country "because of his huge frame and his blackness."[2] Another Negro on the same trip was the cook, Pompey, who died on the way and was buried at a place named in his honor, Pompey's Pillar.[3]

Perhaps the greatest of the Negro pioneers in the westward movement was George Bush, who organized and led the first colony of American settlers to the shores of Puget Sound.[4] Bush was born about 1791 in what is now Missouri, but was then the French colony of Louisiana. His early manhood was spent in the employ of the great Robidoux family whose headquarters were in St. Louis and whose trading posts in the West reached from Fort Laramie, Wyoming, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. During the War of 1812, he was with Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. While gathering furs from the Indians and the occasional white trappers, he learned of the trails across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast.

Later he enlisted with the Hudson Bay Company which had been given unrestricted dominion over all of western Canada, including the territory north of the Columbia River. It was during this employment that Bush reached the Pacific Coast in the late 1820's. While he did not get farther south than present British Columbia, he learned of the climate, soil and possibilities for settlement of the Puget Sound area. About 1830, he returned to Clay County, Missouri, where he married a German-American woman, raised a family of boys, and became a very successful cattleman.

Twelve years later, he sold his property and set out in the company of four other families and three single men over what is now known as the "Old Oregon Trail." There is some difference of opinion as to why he left Missouri. Ayers say that "the retired voyageur was one of the very few who knew about the western coast and had sufficient fitness for leadership."[5] Ezra Meeker writes that "Bush doubtless left Missouri because of the virulent prejudice against his race in the community where he lived."[6] At any rate, George Bush, his wife and five sons, his seven white companions and families, together with a large outfit of wagons and live stock, left in the winter of 1843-4 for the Columbia River. Besides his livestock and outfit, he brought more than a hundred pounds of silver (over $2,000) securely hidden in the bottom of his wagon bed beneath a false bottom. It was this silver that paid for the first saw and grist mill on the Puget Sound.

The party reached The Dalles (Oregon) late in the fall of 1844, where they camped for the winter and made plans for moving into the British-claimed territory north of the Columbia River. In spite of the efforts of the factors and agents of the Hudson Bay Company to discourage all settlements by Americans in the area, the Bush party reached Puget Sound in 1845. It was the intimate acquaintance of George Bush with the French Canadian employees of the Hudson Bay Company which made possible the smuggling of supplies and food to the hard-pressed Americans. The colony survived and it was on the residence and settlement of this party that the United States partially based its claim to all land south of latitude 49. In gratitude, the first Washington legislature unanimously asked Congress to grant George Bush the land on which he had settled, but on which he was denied title, because he had Negro blood in his veins.[7]

Bush carried on his farm with great success, but would not sell anything to speculators. To immigrants without money or price, he would lend seed and food for immediate wants.[8] Thus he divided his crops worth thousands of dollars with those who were establishing themselves on the frontiers. He died in 1867, and the family traditions were carried on by his son, William Owen Bush, an active and influential member of the first Washington State Legislature. It was this son whose Puget Sound products were exhibited at the World's Fair in Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis, and whose wheat took the world's prize at the Centennial Fair in 1876.

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[1] Carey, C. H., *General History of* Oregon, Vol. 1, pp. 87-88.

[2] Hosmer, J. K., *Excerpts from Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Vol. 1, pp. 108, 109, 113, 116, 180, etc.

[3] Imborden, T. S., in *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 12, p. 347.

[4] A number of able historians including Thomas Prosch (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 6, pp. 147-150) and W. S. Savage (*Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 13, p. 259, Vol. 25, pp. 533-4) credit Col. M. T. Simmons as being the leader of the party, but Ezra Meeker (George Bush Manuscript, 1916, Meeker Collection, University of Washington, Seattle) and John Edwin Ayer, Bush's biographer (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, pp. 40-45), show that George Bush was the organizer and leader of the group. His earlier contacts as a voyageur both with the Frenchmen of the Robideau family and the Hudson Bay Company, and his position as the "monied man" of the party made him the natural leader of the expedition.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[6] Meeker, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1. "George Bush was an outlaw but not a criminal; he was a true American and yet was without a country; he owed allegiance to the flag and yet the flag would not own him; he was firmly held to obey the law and yet the law would not protect him; he could not hold landed property; his oath would not be taken in the court of law—in a word, an outlaw, and yet not a criminal. He had Negro blood in his veins."

[8] Meeker, Ezra, *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound* (Lowman and Hanford Seattle, 1905), p. 82.

Twenty miles south of Bush's settlement, George Washington, an early Negro pioneer, in 1853, applied for his patent on land which is now Centralia, Washington.[9] In an effort to out-distance the nearby community of Chehalis, he offered to every person living in the latter settlement, two lots in Centralia plus all moving costs if they would live in his town. This offer, together with the location of the Northern Pacific round-house assured the future of the city.

The largest and most significant early migration of Negroes to the Pacific Northwest occurred in the spring of 1858 when four hundred colored men and their families left California for Victoria, Vancouver Island. This exodus was the result of California's Fugitive Slave Act[10] which prohibited Negroes from giving evidence and left them without means of protecting their property, persons, or liberty. Feeling ran particularly high over the case of Archer Lee, who was arrested as a fugitive slave from Mississippi, although his owner, C. A. Stoval, had brought him to California and leased him out to work for various people. The California Supreme Court rendered a remarkable decision in favor of the slave-holder: "We are not disposed to rigidly enforce the rules (which protected Lee) for the first time. But in reference to all future cases it is our purpose to enforce the rules strictly according to their true intent and spirit."[11]

Despite the objection with which the decision was received, Stoval had his slave in his possession in free California. At a public meeting held on March 5, 1858, at the Mount Zion M. E. Church in San Francisco, $150 was raised to fight for Archer Lee's release, which was granted a month later.

More drastic anti-Negro legislation was proposed, and the question before many of the colored citizens was where to migrate. The choice lay between Vancouver Island (then a British Crown Colony) and the Mexican state of Sonora.

On April 20, sixty-five Negroes went north on the *Commodore* as an advance party to purchase land near Victoria. Their departure was compared to that of Pastor Robinson and the Pilgrims by the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*.[12]

The reports from the first party were enthusiastic: land could be obtained at twenty shillings an acre; land-holders after a residence of nine months had the right of electoral franchise, of sitting as jurors and all the protection of the laws as citizens of the colony; there were two churches and two schools, one of which was taught by an educated Indian. In short, "it was a God-sent land for colored people."[13]

Approximately three hundred Negro families migrated from California to the town of Victoria, and another hundred scattered throughout the farming settlements of the island. They invested the sums they brought with them in land, and by the sudden advance in the value of real estate which followed the influx of gold seekers a month later, they found themselves in a relatively secure economic position. One of the leaders of the migration found himself twenty days after his arrival in Victoria receiving $500 a month rental in addition to space for his own store from property which cost $3,200.[14] By 1865, Negro supporters of the church regarded themselves as of the "old families of the country and the monied aristocracy."[15]

A list of fifty-three colored people who made application for British citizenship (about 1864) reveals a wide range of occupations.[16]

TABLE I

Occupations of Fifty-three Colored People Applying for Citizenship

Merchant	4
Grocer	4
Fruiterer	1
Tailor	1
Saloon Keeper	1
Restaurant	1
Cook	1
Baker	1
Laundryman	1
Barber	2
Contractor	1
Carpenter	2
Ship Carpenter	2
Plasterer	1
Caulker	1
Cooper	1
Blacksmith	1
Farmer	3
Gardener	2
Miner	1
Teamster	7
Porter	6
Water Carrier	1
Messenger	1
Carman	1
No Occupation	1

Colored applicants for positions in the Victoria Fire Department were black-balled by the white Americans already accepted.[17] However, one member of the Negro group, Mifflin Wistar Gibbs, was elected to the Common Council of the city of Victoria for two terms beginning in 1866. He also was selected as delegate to the convention of 1868 at Fort Yale (British Columbia) which decided on the question of affiliation of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada. In private life, Gibbs was both a merchant and a construction contractor. It was his company which built the first wharfs and tenders in the Queen Charlotte Islands.[18] In 1869, after a decade in the Northwest, Gibbs left for Oberlin where he continued the study of law in preparation for service in the South. He practiced in Little Rock, Arkansas, and there became Municipal Judge. He later held positions as Registrar of the United States Land Office and American Consul to the Island of Madagascar.

Another outstanding member of the Negro community in Victoria was William Grose,[19] who was born

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[9] Jackson, Joseph Sylvester, *Historical Notes* (Manuscript in possession of Seattle Urban League).

[10] Chapter 33 of Acts, 1852, State of California.

[11] Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1935, Section II, p. 148 (Howay, W. F., *Negro Migration to Vancouver Island in 1858*).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[14] Gibbs, Mufflin Wister, *Shadow & Light* (Washington, D. C., 1902), p. 61-62.

[15] MacFie, Mathew, *Vancouver Island & British Columbia* (Longman, Green & Longman, London, 1865), p. 389.

[16] Fawcett, Edgar, *Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria* (William Briggs, Toronto, 1912), p. 216.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[18] Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[19] *Seattle-Post-Intelligencer*, July 27, 1898.

in Washington, D. C., in 1835. After a career in the United States Navy during which he served with Commodore Perry in the Orient and with the famous Walker expedition in Central America, he located in San Francisco. With conditions in California being unfavorable to Negroes, he migrated to British Columbia and the Frazier River region. About 1859 he located in Victoria, and worked on the *Constitution,* the first boat to carry mail between Olympia and Victoria. On one of these trips, he became a friend of Governor Stevens, the first governor of Washington Territory. Persuaded to leave Victoria, he engaged in the hotel business in Seattle, where he became the leader of the Negro community. At the time of his death in 1898, he had accumulated considerable property and was considered one of the largest tax-payers in the city.

The first authorized military force in western Canada was organized by the Negroes of Victoria in 1860. A Company of three officers and forty-four men were enlisted as the Pioneer Rifle Corps. The uniforms, which included a shako head-dress, were especially made for them in England, and were issued by the Hudson Bay Company. White residents were excluded from membership, and as a result the Company was nicknamed the "All Blacks" and the "African Rifles."[20]

ROBERT W. O'BRIEN and
BERNARD E. SQUIRES
University of Washington,
Seattle, Washington

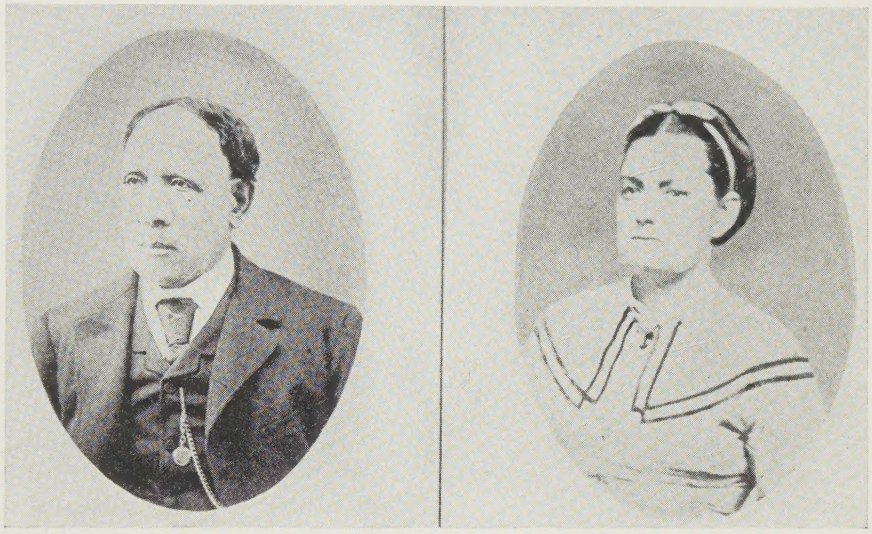
[20] Matthews, Major J. R., *British Columbia's First Troops Were Black* in The Army and Navy Veterans in Canada Fourteenth Annual Convention, Souvenir Program, 1934, p. 39.

George Washington, Founder of Centralia

(*Continued from page* 194)

River looking for a place of his own. He fenced twelve acres of land and sowed it in oats, wheat and garden stuff.

One evening two men spent the night with him on their way to the capital in Olympia. They commented on his land and its favorable location and hinted that they intended to file on his claim at the territorial land office. George Washington acted quickly. He knew that colored men could not file on land but he had developed the land with the hope the law might be changed in a year or two.



GEORGE WASHINGTON AND HIS WIFE

He resolved that he would take no chance on losing his land. He had crossed three thousand miles of continent and had searched for two years throughout Oregon territory to find it. He had cleared it, plowed its acres, and fenced its crops. He walked to the Cochrans at Cowletz landing, and urged his friends to take title to the property in their names. Four years later he bought it back for three thousand dollars so that his foster parents might have cash for any emergency.

After the death of the Cochrans, George Washington married Mary Jane Coonness, an attractive colored widow in 1886. A year later he bought his wife a sewing machine, the first in that region.

When the Northern Pacific Railroad crossed his land in 1872, Washington planned to found a city named Centerville, halfway between Tacoma and Kalowa. By 1875 the town was laid out with a Baptist Church and a Public Square being the first attractions.

The new community was offered competition by nearby Chehalis, and George Washington responded by offering free moving and a free lot for everyone moving from Chehalis to his Centerville. He also had definite convictions in caring for the townsmen he fathered. Accordingly he never pressed a man for a debt to the detriment of his family. "If your family is in need, don't try to pay me till you get on your feet," he would say.

His broad sympathy and understanding of his townspeople helped to build the community. Much of the joy in his town, now Centralia, was lost in his sorrow over the death of his wife in 1889.

When the panic of 1893 reached the community, Washington tried to forget his own misfortune by helping his neighbors. In Portland he bought rice, flour and sugar by the ton. In Chehalis he bought lard and bacon wholesale, and every Saturday he bought shoes for all who needed them. Thus he carried out Centralia's first large relief program.

The father of Centralia died August 26, 1905, at the age of 87. He was buried from the Baptist Church that he had supported since the time he had hewed the rafters for the first structure in the town. All business houses closed during the funeral.

(*Continued on page* 215)

GEORGE BOXLEY, PROTOTYPE OF JOHN BROWN

WHEN the tourist drives through the little town of Boxley, in Hamilton County, Indiana, he as well as the citizens of the Hoosier State will be surprised to know that this little town stands here as a monument to the memory of one who was such a lover of freedom, and such an ardent and earnest opponent of slavery that we may well call him the forerunner, yea, the prototype of old John Brown, whose death on the scaffold at Harper's Ferry in 1859, glorified the gallows as a means of exit from this life.[1] Boxley was not only an opponent of slavery, but he figured prominently as a pioneer in Indiana history. He was among those heroic souls who during those stirring times before the Civil War, acted as agents on the Underground Railroad in Hamilton County.[2]

Boxley was born and reared in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, sometime during the latter part of the eighteenth century. There by honest toil and careful investments he acquired considerable wealth, and won the respect of the bluest blooded families of the Old Dominion. He owned and operated a saw-mill, a grist-mill, and woolen-mill all under one roof on the banks of the same stream.[3] In keeping with the laws and customs of the times, Boxley came into the possession of a number of slaves. These he regarded as property, but he was never known to be a cruel master as were many of his countrymen. He was in many ways a very peculiar and eccentric man—a fanatic after the John Brown type, with a strong determination and iron will.[4] When he had once decided upon a certain course of action which he believed to be right, nothing in the world could turn him from his course, not even death itself. He had no doubt pondered the words of Jefferson on slavery: "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that his justice will not slumber forever."

George Boxley was not a man who believed in half-way measures; his conscience disturbed him, he knew that slavery was wrong and should be abolished. Unlike Jefferson, he decided to do something about it.[5] He did not try to ease a quickened conscience and calm a troubled mind by making excuses for slavery. He emancipated all of his slaves and from that time on hated and fought slavery with all the energy of his strong character.[6] Long before Garrison and Lundy had come into the public lime light, Boxley was boldly advocating immediate and unconditional emancipation. He did not denounce the Constitution as "a covenant with death and a league with hell," as Garrison did later, but he proved his loyalty to the stars and stripes by entering the army during the War of 1812, and fighting with bravery and distinction against the aggressions of the Mistress of the seas. When the conflict was over, the United States Government recognized his ability as a soldier by awarding him a silver-hilt sword in acknowledgement of his valuable services during that critical period.[7]

Before the smoke of battle had scarcely died away, Boxley's hatred of slavery had led him to commit an act which turned all of Virginia's admiration and respect for him into the bitterest unmitigated hatred and contempt. It was about 1814 when two slaves, hearing of Boxley's interest in the freedom of Negroes, came to his home in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, seeking help in escaping from a cruel master. He effected these poor slaves' deliverance by concealing them in one of his mills until circumstances permitted him to send them to Greenbriar County, and eventually on to liberty in a free state.[8] For this little act of kindness to persons of color, the Virginia law fined and incarcerated Boxley.

When he had served his term in prison he remained in Virginia for two more years, doing what he could to assist any slave who was willing to take a risk for his freedom. In 1816 he, with several other Negroes, was successful in stirring up a general uprising among the slaves in several counties in Virginia, especially Louisa and Spottsylvania.[9] Before his plans could be put into operation, the plot was revealed by a slave woman and several Negroes were arrested and imprisoned. Boxley was so bold as to march with a dozen or so of his followers on an errand of release, but on the way, several of the blacks lost courage and returned. Boxley fled to the woods and remained in hiding for some time, but finally surrendered himself.[10] For this insurrection of slaves six Negroes were hanged, and six others transported beyond the limits of the United States.[11] Boxley was sentenced to be hanged for his part as leader of the plot, but while awaiting execution his wife was allowed to visit him the day before he was to be hanged, and managed to conceal within the hems of her skirts a fine-spring saw, with which Boxley sawed his way out of jail and fled the state. These events started him wandering as a fugitive from "justice" and eventually placed him among the pioneers of Indiana history as a figure in the operations of the famous Underground Railroad north of the Ohio.[12]

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[1] *History of Hamilton County*, 258.
[2] *Ibid.*, 146.
[3] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, X, 433-435.
[4] *Ibid.*, 435-36.
[5] *The Free Labor Advocate*, November 24, 1842.
[6] *History of Hamilton County, Indiana*, 147.
[7] *Ibid., Archives of Virginia, Executive Papers*, February 25, 1816.
[8] *History of Hamilton County, Indiana*, 147.
[9] Carroll, Joseph C., *Slave Insurrections in the U. S.*, 74-76.
[10] *Archives of Virginia, Executive Papers*, March 1, 1816.
[11] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1816.
[12] *History of Hamilton County, Indiana*, 147-48.

We next hear of his residing in Pittsburgh, under the assumed name of George Burke. Here he engaged in the vocation of school teaching and writing pamphlets against slavery and the banking system of his day. He would have been called a Communist had he lived in our times, for he was not only opposed to slavery, but to a caste system based upon wealth. He often said that there should be a leveling of society, for there was too much distinction between the rich and the poor. Although the Governor of Virginia offered a reward of one thousand dollars for his capture and return to the state dead or alive, he made good his escape and informed his family in Virginia of his whereabouts. He realized that Pittsburgh was too close to the locality of the scene of his late activities and crime for his loved ones to join him there in safety. He, therefore, moved to Missouri where followed shortly afterward a happy family reunion.[13]

Subsequently he moved to Fayette County, Ohio, where he hoped he would be free and safe from the Virginia law and those who would crush anyone daring to interfere with the South's most favored institution. But he was soon doomed to disappointment, for no sooner than he had settled in Ohio two men passed through the vicinity of his home with a drove of horses for Virginia and recognized him. When the men reached their homes in Virginia they learned of the reward of one thousand dollars which was being offered for Boxley's capture. These men immediately returned to Ohio, with intentions of capturing him and securing the handsome reward. They actually succeeded in kidnapping the fugitive from "justice" and started off toward Virginia with their prey, but Boxley had two stalwart sons, who with the assistance of neighbors organized a rescue party, overtook the Virginians and set the prisoner free.[14]

After this unfortunate experience, which nearly brought him back within the claws of Virginia "justice," Boxley sought safety again within the borders of the frontier state of Missouri. From Missouri his friends in Ohio induced him to return and again take up his abode in the Buckeye State, with the assurance that the laws of that commonwealth, as well as the forces of the immediate neighborhood would always be at his disposal as a guarantee against his being extradited to Virginia. He returned to Fayette County in Ohio, where he lived quietly for several years. On his way back from Missouri he passed through the new State of Indiana, and marked certain sections of land, averring to himself that he would return here and make his home if he were ever again disturbed by the laws of Virginia reaching out after him in Ohio.[15] He was not satisfied in Ohio, the death sentence passed upon him by the authorities in the Old Dominion was an ever present nightmare which he could not completely shake off.

Finally, he decided to seek greater security in one of the new settlements in Indiana. Therefore, in 1828 he entered land and built the first house in Adams Township, Hamilton County, Indiana, where he passed the remainder of his life.

Through this county a line of the Underground Railroad ran from the Kentucky banks of the Ohio River northward and on to Canada. This route through Hamilton county was by way of Indianapolis, Westfield, Boxley, New London, in Howard county, and on to the Canadas.[16] The Society of Friends, the first religious body in America to oppose slavery, was very strong in this county, especially around Westfield. Of all the lines of this famous organization passing through Indiana, this was one of the busiest; hundreds, perhaps thousands, of runaway slaves were assisted as they came over this line in making good their escape to the free land of Queen Victoria. It was said of the Underground Railroad station in Hamilton county that no fugitive slave was ever recaptured, once he had reached Westfield.[17] Even the notorious slave-hunters themselves declared that it was no use to search further for a runaway Negro, once he had reached this famous Quaker settlement.[18] In all this work of the Underground Railroad carried on by the Society of Friends, Boxley was as zealous as any of the rest. A fugitive from "justice" himself, he had for the slaves broader and deeper sympathy by reason of his own experience. For years he worked hand in hand with the Quakers until they saw the travail of their souls and was satisfied, although it has not been possible to ascertain whether or not he was of the Friends' persuasion.

Boxley not only helped runaway slaves to secure the precious boon of freedom by means of the Underground Railroad, but having had splendid advantages of education himself, he was as intolerant of illiteracy as he was of the evils of slavery. On a portion of his farm in Hamilton county he erected a little log cabin in which he conducted a daily school for the instruction of his own children; and as the settlers came to the neighborhood, he offered to their children free of charge[19] the benefits of his fine attainments. George Boxley was for the "under-dog" in every race or group. He did not believe that a man should be imprisoned for debt, nor did he think debts should be collected by law. He was also opposed to banks, as he considered them factors in promoting an aristocracy of wealth.[20]

He made a lasting impression upon his fellow pioneers by reason of his courageous devotion to duty, even in the face of danger and death; and of his deep love of humanity, no matter what might be the color of its skin. Hence, when his community with the immediate

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[13] *Archives of Virginia, Executive Papers,* March 10, 1816; *History of Hamilton County, Indiana,* 148.

[14] *Ibid.,* 148-49

[15] *Ibid.,* 150.

[16] *History of Hamilton County, Indiana,* 491.

[17] *Ibid.,* 494.

[18] *Ibid.,* 490.

[19] *History of Hamilton County, Indiana,* 150.

[20] *Ibid.; Calendar of Virginia State Papers,* X, 435-36.

neighborhood was to be incorporated as a town, those who knew of him and his labors of love could think of no more fitting memorial to his services than that of calling it Boxley in his honor.[21] The biographical history of Hamilton county lists among its numerous celebrities several personages bearing the name of Boxley, perhaps, descendants of this pioneer, lover of humanity, and apostle of human liberty. The first physician of the town was a Boxley, no doubt a son or grandson of the original George Boxley.[22] Others by the same name were known to have distinguished themselves in state and national politics.

John Brown died in an effort to free the slaves, but in his death *per se*, he did not succeed in freeing a single slave. He did, however, bring the slavery question to the focal point in the national consciousness by intensifying the bitter feeling that existed between the North and the South, and thus accelerated the approaching Civil War, which settled the issue. George Boxley rescued himself from the icy clutches of death in order that he might live for the freedom of the slaves, and succeeded in aiding many to escape from bondage by means of the Underground Railroad. Both men were sincere in what they did; both had the same aim, but differed only in their methods. The blood of martyrs becomes the seed of every great cause, but sometimes it requires as much courage, and it is as important that a few great souls live to cultivate and promote a cause as it is to die for it. Douglass came within an inch of being a martyr with John Brown, but in his own language he fled from the "talons of the American eagle to nestle in the mane of the British lion." A few men of color did fall with the grand old man of Harper's Ferry, but their names are known today only to the historians and serious scholars. Douglass' name is known and heard around the world. He chose to live for freedom rather than to die for it. Boxley selected the same course as Douglass, and who can say that they were not wiser in their methods than the hero of Harper's Ferry?

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

JOSEPH C. CARROLL
Crispus Attucks High School, Indianapolis, Indiana

[21] *Ibid.*, 258 ff.
[22] *Ibid.*

Negro Life in British Guiana

(*Continued from page* 211)

standing. Suffrage is determined by property or income qualifications, which operate so as to exclude a very great majority of the Negro population. This is not by design, but is the ugly excresence of a forgotten political age. In consequence, there is apathy in political matters that does not do credit to the standard of general intelligence. In a sense, this is pathetic, since in vital affairs those who are most concerned have no means of expressing their will, one way or another.

In 1931, when the liberal constitution under which the British Guiana Government was being operated was altered, and the representative nature changed to that of a Crown Colony, this restriction prevented the bulk of the population from expressing their sentiments at the polls. But it goes without saying that the populace is alive to this political failing, and agitation along constitutional lines is taking place for a suffrage based on age and citizenship. In the sister Colony of Jamaica this has already been granted; and there is reason to hope that such a step forward in democratic government will soon be granted to British Guiana.

In order to be able to attain an equitable standard of comparison in the economic condition of this country as compared with Guiana, a common economic value must be set in the purchasing power of the dollar here and the dollar in that country. In my humble opinion, if the wages figure in that country were to be multiplied by five, or the wages here divided by the same figure, a fair basis would thereby be reached. That is to be explained in this manner. The smallest spending unit with which a food commodity could be purchased here is a nickel. Even this is very restricted, for the purchase in many cases would require a dime, whereas, in British Guiana, it is possible to buy one cent's worth of cheese, one cent's worth of butter, one cent's worth of rice, one cent's worth of flour, one cent's worth of fish (fresh or salted) and the like. The purchasing power of the Guiana dollar is in fact one hundred cents.

On this basis the economic status of the Negro who forms the bulk of the laboring class is fair, in spite of his low wages. But I cannot conscientiously assert that this condition comes anyway near that of his brothers in this country. Yet the paradox of the situation is that he can readily find money to travel to this country, if and when he so desires, and those on this side find it extremely difficult to do likewise.

Since there are very few manufactories in British Guiana, work opportunity for the average Negro is limited to certain trades, unskilled labor, loading and unloading of ships, gold and diamond mining and agriculture. Nevertheless, he seems to thrive in a sort of way, and his usual geniality and good-humor are still his standing assets. By thrift he has acquired property, real and personal; but a wide margin for improvement in his thrift habits exists. I shall be guilty of no detraction from his general capabilities to say that his aptitude for business is just as weak as that of his brother here.

All in all, it will be a fair appraisal of the general condition of our Negro brother on the down side of the Atlantic, to predicate of him that he is less calculated to remain a "Hewer of wood and drawer of water," as long as his brother on this side.

ALBERT E. WILSON EASTMAN

ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS OF PREJUDICE IN THE UNITED STATES AS CONCERNS THE NEGRO

THIS essay is an attempt to account for the present prejudices against the Negro in terms of environmental causes. Soil, topography and climate have been potent factors and decisive determinants in shapening the sectional aspects, economic status and cultural traits of both North and South, and so the entire argument is based on the physical conditions that made possible the now existing prejudices.*

ENVIRONMENT VS. HUMAN CONDUCT

There is pronounced variation in dress, ideas, habits, appearances, governments and manners among the divergent groups, races and nationalities scattered promiscuously over the face of the globe. They eat different kinds of food, enjoy different pleasures, labor in different ways, apply different methods for maintaining their economic existence, and have different educational aspirations and ideals. Some are active and mentally alert while others are slow, stupid and so mentally turbid that they rarely think of doing anything, except as their ancestors did it. In the same manner loves and hatreds exist and discriminatory practices are engaged in, foul prejudices resorted to and racial barriers formed more astonishingly acute and more ingloriously obvious in some regions than in others. Does environment play its part in these diverse forms of human conduct? Why are the people of the forests of Central Africa primitive hunters and those of the steppes of Central Asia ignorant cattle raisers, while those of Great Britain and France are highly civilized and commercial peoples? Do climate, land forms, distance from the ocean, types of soil affect peoples of the world in their quest for food, their clothing, shelter, tools, health and energy? Has the environment of the United States affected types of labor, and resulted in different forms of economic activity in different sections and have these different forms of economic activity contributed to any extent to the present prejudices toward the Negro?

GENERAL DEFINITION OF ENVIRONMENT

When the term environment is used the average person considers it only in a partial manner. He looks upon it as being a factor of climate, such as rainfall or weather conditions; he may regard it as location, but the word has a far more comprehensive meaning. It really is a composite of geographical influences that affect any given region, hence it is inclusive. It may be defined as the relation between geographical influences and human activities. The geographical influences that determine the nature of an environment are[1] (1) location, (2) land forms, (3) bodies of water, (4) soil and minerals and (5) climate. All these determine the type of plants and animals of the region. Man and his habits, foods, methods of work are determined accordingly.

INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT ON THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

Geographical influences have always played their part in shaping the destinies of man. The discovery of America and the subsequent happenings in the United States are not exceptions. The trade winds were decisive geographical determinants which resulted in the settlements of the tropical American (North and South) districts by the Spaniards. Had Columbus sailed directly west, he would have landed around Philadelphia in a much more northerly latitude than he did, and the history of North America would have been far different.[3] The Spanish possessed those tropical regions, "before the more northern peoples of Europe began to have an interest in the western world."[4]

On the Atlantic coast, though there is no extreme diversity in its physical conditions, its range of climate is sufficient to afford a considerable variety in agricultural products, and the geographical divisions serve in a measure to intensify certain regional differences of character in such a measure that the inhabitants of the several British colonies on the coast became rather distinct in their character. The long continued absence of any political association between the separate colonies kept them in a good measure apart, and thus served to foster the development of diverse character in different sections. Thus it came to pass that on the Atlantic Coast there developed a state of society in which the New Englander, the Hollander of New York, the Quaker of Pennsylvania, the Catholic of Maryland and the Churchman of Virginia, were somewhat different from each other.

A. INFLUENCE OF APPALACHIAN MOUNTAIN SYSTEM NORTH VS. SOUTH

Another geographic feature affecting the early colonists on the Atlantic coast was the great Appalachian Mountain system, which extends from the Green Mountains of Vermont to the pine-covered hills of Alabama. It consists in gen-

*Accidentally the last page of this manuscript was misplaced and thus the name of the contributor was lost. The only thing we know is that it was given an "A" rating by Professor Cook, under whom the student worked.

[1] Huntington & Cushion—Principles of Human Geography.

[3] Whitbeck—Economic Geography of South America, Chap. I.

[4] Shaler—Nature and Man in America, pp. 191.

eral of parallel ranges altogether some three hundred miles in width, which stretch along with only one considerable break in all their length of thirteen hundred miles. Hemmed in thus by the mountains, for the first one hundred and fifty years of their occupancy, the English settlers were limited to the Atlantic coast.[5] This seaboard country presented in its different portions varying aspects, which had a corresponding effect upon the colonists. In New England the lowland belt is only from fifty to eighty miles wide; but it gradually broadens as it continues southward, till in the Carolinas the mountains are two hundred and fifty miles back from the sea.[6] The area adapted to settlement was therefore more extensive in the south than in the north. And, too, the northern district had suffered glaciation; it was covered with a heavy deposit of boulders, which had to be removed at the cost of infinite labor before the land could be made ready for cultivation. The hardest work had to be done before a plough could be used; but this once over, the soil could be tilled for a long time without giving signs of exhaustion.[7] This fact, together with the small area at their command, preserved to the settlers the contracted territorial ideas which they had brought with them from their mother country and served to root them in the soil. Consequently the people of New England developed little of the tendency to expansion which later became a characteristic of the American people.

That tendency developed further south, for here there were larger areas unobstructed by mountain barriers, a preponderance of virgin soils, and so there was no better place in the whole world for the cultivation of tobacco than in the regions more southward.[8] At a time when "artificial fertilizing was almost unknown, the production of the better kinds of tobacco demanded a virgin soil."[9] The planters, therefore, took up as large tracts as possible, and the only preparation was "girdling" the trees, the primitive mode of clearing the land which the colonists learned from the Indians.[10] This method of cultivation, expedient in view of the abundance of arable land,[11] was superficial and the materials taken from the soil were never replaced. By this system of agriculture (the evils of which were accentuated by slave labor) low lands exhausted in eight years, fields less favorably in three, more forest was cleared for the plough, and the settlements invaded the wilderness. In 1865, "although the population of Virginia did not exceed the number of inhabitants in the single parish of Stepney, London, nevertheless they had acquired ownership in plantations that spread over the same area as England itself.[12] The northern section of the present United States was not only influenced by climate and soils but the Appalachian Mountain System restricted the area to the Atlantic Ocean to such an extent as to make expansion impossible. The reverse was true in the South. The cultivation of tobacco, later followed by the growth of cotton, the result of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, was the prime factor in the introduction of Negro slavery.

Relation of Soils, and Climate to Promotion of Slavery

The original centers of Negro population within the United States, therefore, were in the South. As early as 1790 the states of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas had relatively 87 per cent of this population.[13] The Negroes were employed almost exclusively in the cultivation of tobacco and as household servants. With the development of cotton growing in the South and Southwest and with the embargo of 1808[14] "An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any part or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight."[15] It was found advantageous to increase the labor resources of the lower South in connection with the increasing cultivation of cotton. It so developed that for the period prior to the Civil War that the slave population was proportionally smaller in the more northerly states of the South and increased less rapidly than in the far South. In general in the more newly settled of the far Southern states the slave population increased more rapidly than the white population.[16] The census returns therefore reflect the economic facts that slave labor was most valuable in the lower South, and that with the development of newly opened areas in that section the tendency to employ slave labor increased.[17] In 1860 the states which now constitute the South Atlantic, East Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central divisions, contained 92 per cent of all the Negroes in the United States.[18]

The great mass of Negroes then was concentrated in those regions where expansion was greatest and dependence upon the soil was most acute. The question of slavery in the United States was primarily a question of climate and soil, a question of rich alluvial valley and fertile coast land plain, with a warm, moist, enervating climate as contrasted with rough mountain upland and glaciated prairie or coast, with a colder, harsher, but more embracing climate.[19] Environmental conditions of the South, then,

[5] Semple—American History and Its Geographic Conditions, pp. 42.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Shaler, Nature and Man in America, pp. 225.
[8] Brigham, A. P., Journal of School Geography, April, 1900.
[9] Semple, American History and Its Geographic Conditions, pp. 43.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Roscher, Nationalokonomich des Ackerbanes, Op. 104. 12th Ed.
[12] Phillip Bruce, Economic History of Va. Vol. I, pp. 424.
[13] First Census in 1890.
[14] Du Bois—Suppression of the African Slave Trade, Op. 108.
[15] Statutes at large, 11, 426.
[16] Wm. Rossiter—Increase of Population in the U. S., 1910-1920, pp. 123.
[17] Brown, Lower South in American History, pp. 23.
[18] Wm. Rossiter—Increase of Population in the U. S., pp. 123.
[19] Semple, American History and Its Geographic Condition, pp. 280.

made expansion possible and also made possible the extension of tobacco and cotton, the success of both, depending on cheap labor; hence the rise and spread of the institution of slavery. Only where one of these crops could be profitably tilled did slavery ever firmly establish itself.[20] This fact is easily explained by noting the many areas of southern territory in which slavery was never firmly established.[21] The Appalachian Mountain System,[22] as has been stated before, widens as one goes southward from Pennsylvania until it occupies nearly one-fifth of the Southern States, extending widely so as to include half of Virginia and North Carolina, a great part of western South Carolina, much of Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky[23] and a part of Alabama. In this section the character of the soil and the form of the surface and the nature[24] of the climate, make the land wholly unfit for the extended culture of either tobacco or cotton. Cotton is a subtropical plant and requires an average of 200 frostless days, which is equivalent to at least 170 days devoid of frost four years out of five.[25] Besides, adequate rainfall, reasonably high temperatures, increasing during the growing period, are necessary. The soils of the "Cotton Belt" are for the most part extensive areas of lowland consisting of young and soft sands, clays and limestones mostly of the Tertiary and Cretaceous age.[26] In this comparison of environmental differences regarding soils, topography and climate of the mountainous and non-mountainous regions of the South one readily sees why slavery was considered so necessary in one section and was never established in the other.

[20] Shaler, Nature and Man in America, pp. 208.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] Shaler—History of Kentucky, pp. 232.
[23] Semple—American History and Its Geographic Condition, pp. 281.
[24] Lewis, V. A., History of W. Va., pp. 320-325.
[25] Jones and Bryan, Economic History of North America, pp. 160-165.
[26] *Ibid.*

Effect of Appalachian Mountain System on Slavery and the Civil War

The effect of the Appalachian Mountain System upon the distribution of slavery, and consequently on the political and social history of the United States, was of utmost importance. In those mountainous regions of the Southern States (with the exclusion of the more fertile valleys in which a few slaves were employed) a slave was never held. The inhabitants had very vague and distorted ideas[27] about the whole institution of slavery, and many there were who never fully indorsed it. The natural result of this distribution in the Negro population was that the mountain districts of the South[28] were different in their political ideas from the more level regions of the plains.[29] When the rebellion occurred the Appalachian country was a region in which great intolerance and disaffection toward the Confederacy prevailed,[30] and to a great extent the men either cast their lot with the North or gave their sympathy to the Federal cause. The peoples of eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, western Virginia, and even those of western North Carolina, recruited the ranks of the Federal army, and some of the counties of eastern Kentucky "sent[31] more troops to the Union Forces than the voters who ever appeared at an election in those districts." Environmental conditions, therefore, due to the Appalachian Cordillera, restricted the slave holding sections, concentrated the slave population to the plains and divided the South politically, thereby greatly reducing its resistance in its efforts against the Federal Government during the Civil War. This non-slave-holding element of the Appalachian districts reenforced the Army of the Federal troops to the extent of over one hundred thousand soldiers and it might well be said that, these men of the Appalachian region constituted the balance between victory and defeat[32] of the Federal troops. Had it not been for this extensive territory inaccessible to slavery, and the consequent weakening of the South,[33] it is very doubtful if the Federal armies would have prevailed in that momentous contest.

[27] Shaler, Nature and Man in America, pp. 209.
[28] Semple, American History and Its Geographic Conditions, pp. 280.
[29] Semple, Mountain Passages: Bull. Amer. Geog. Soc., 2, 3, 1901.
[30] Shaler, Nature and Man in America, pp. 210-211.
[31] *Ibid.*

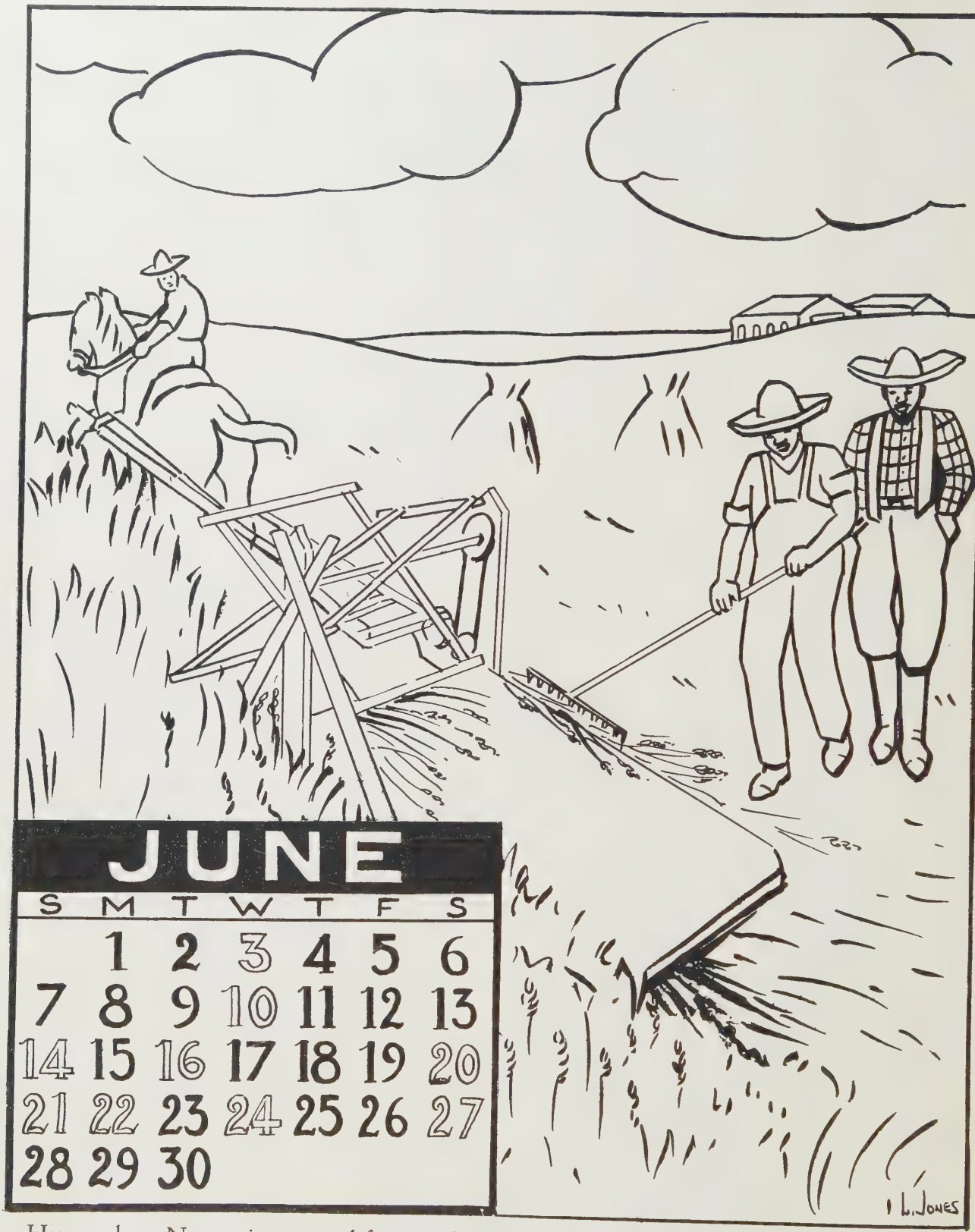
Environment vs. Past and Present Status of Negro

The end of the Civil War and the subsequent problems of reconstruction (both caused by environmental conditions) were vital factors in the formation of present "prejudices against the Negro. The Civil War meant the sudden emancipation of 4,000,000 slaves, together with the perplexing questions that liberation brought with it."[34] It meant the entire revolutionizing of the whole economic system of the South; a stroke of the pen had resulted in freedom for great numbers of Negroes who found themselves on a political par with their former owners. It was not long after that secret organizations (Ku Klux Klan) sprang up for the purpose of whipping, banishing, murdering Negroes in order to lessen the possibility of social and political equality. As Negroes were more numerous in those regions where slavery had become firmly established, it was and still is the region of the greatest hatreds, violations of order by procedure and the great source and distributor of the so-called race problem in the United States.

Before the Civil War slavery was firmly established in the Southern States, and there was a fixed and definite race relation—that of master and slave. A static society existed in which the established social order was built on distinctions based on class, caste and race.

[32] Muzzey — The United States of America. Vol. 1, pp. 548.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 549-551.
[34] Brawley—Short History of American Negro, pp. 118.

(*Continued on page* 206)



Here we have Negro pioneers and farmers, known as the children and grandchildren of George Bush, who not only demonstrated that Americans could conquer the wilderness but could develop it to a position second to none in the nation. This is just what the members of this family did in producing such fine wheat that it took first prize at the Centennial Celebration of the Independence of the United States in Philadelphia in 1876.

CHILDREN'S PAGE

A Calendar to Color

Color the wheat a golden yellow with accents of brown and orange. The reaper is light brown and the horse is dark brown. Color the farmers' overalls blue, and their hats brown. Bush wears a green checked shirt and grey trousers. His boots and hat are black. Color the sky a brilliant blue, the hill in the distance green, and the barns red.

Hectograph copies may be made from the drawing, and crayons or water color used for coloring.

Tone the calendar a pale green and the dates, dark brown.

The "birthday" dates are as follows and may be indicated in red:

JUNE 3. The United States recognized Haiti and Liberia as nations, 1862.

JUNE 10. Richard Allen started the independent African Methodist movement, 1794.

JUNE 10. Antonio Candido Gonçales Crespo, Portuguese poet, born, 1846.

JUNE 14. Harriet Beecher Stowe, born, 1811.

JUNE 16. Dessalines declared emperor of Haiti, 1804.

JUNE 20. Charles Waddell Chesnutt, Negro novelist, born, 1858.

JUNE 21. Henry Ossawa Tanner, famous Negro-American painter, transplanted to France, born, 1859.

JUNE 21. James Varick became first bishop of the A. M. E. Z. Church, 1821.

JUNE 22. Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case, 1772.

JUNE 24. Henry Ward Beecher, promoter of equal rights, born, 1813.

JUNE 27. Paul Laurence Dunbar, born, 1872.

Recent Books

To improve race relations and to do as much as to set Americans thinking about establishing democracy in the United States and the West Indies a number of teachers are producing outlines of study and manuals which suggest the integration of the record of the Negro along with that of other contributions to human progress. Some of these publications merely suggest the importance of the study and the beneficent results to be obtained thereby, but others outline in detail the procedure to be followed in the schoolroom, and they supply bibliographical materials for those thus concerned.

Of the last mentioned of these manuals *We Build Together,* by Charlemae Rollins, authorized by the National Council of Teachers of English, No. 2, we should take special notice. This work is intended as a reader's guide to Negro life and literature for elementary and high school use. The author gives an introduction showing the need for a high school guide, the books to be chosen, trying to distinguish between books which portray the Negro realistically and those which give a distorted view. The foreword concludes with a thought about books which build a more democratic attitude and present the achievements of the race.

The plan is a commendable one and the author and coworkers in the effort deserve praise for their good intentions. However, for lack of adequate knowledge of the Negro and his background the book falls into the error of doing just

(*Continued on page* 215)

Questions on the May Issue

1. **Learn at least one of Paul Laurence Dunbar's poems. What is the philosophy of life indicated in the poem?**
2. **Have you ever read a novel written by a Negro? Have you read any of the works of Charles W. Chesnutt?**
3. **Compare and contrast the struggle of the Negro in the Middle West with his struggle in the Southwest, in the Land of Cotton, in the Upper South, in the Border States, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. The chart method will work well here.**
4. **What was Jefferson's relation to the freedom of the Middle West? Why is the position of Jefferson debatable?**
5. **Choose a person from Ohio, Michigan, Indiana or Illinois and note his life as connected with the history of the time and the contribution made to society.**
6. **List the persons of note in your community today and what they are noted for. Have you written their biographies yet? Why not?**

Book of the Month

In a booklet of 47 pages Earl Conrad has given the story of *Harriet Tubman* (International Publishers, 381 4th Avenue, New York City) and the work makes a favorable impression. Mr. Conrad has spent much time studying this important figure in our history. He delineates her career both as an abolitionist and as a soldier. This brief statement is merely the forerunner of the larger volume to come. This pamphlet, however, is not without considerable merit.

In this effort the author briefly discusses the early life of Harriet Tubman. He enlivens the story by showing how she followed the North Star to freedom, how she associated with John Brown in the Underground Railroad, and how she acquired the title of "General Tubman." He so highly estimates her service as to place her in the class with the national figures of her time. Her services as a nurse and a spy for the Union during the Civil War are likewise evaluated.

Our socalled historians will object to calling Harriet Tubman a national figure. She was merely one of those who denounced slavery and opposed slaveholders. Such historians are like the short-sighted Daniel Webster who, when asked to preside at an anti-slavery meeting, scoffed at the idea, saying that he had no time for such nonsense, that he was working on a great treaty—the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. People in general, however, have not the least idea as to what that treaty was, but they have no doubt as to the outcome of the anti-slavery struggle in which Harriet Tubman participated. Webster, who tried to dodge the issue by compromise, died under the stigma of "the heartless traitor to the cause of freedom." The abolitionists whose work was crowned with the ultimate achievement of Abraham Lincoln shine with resplendency on the pages of the history of human progress.

Environmental Basis of Prejudice in the United States as Concerns the Negro

(*Continued from page* 203)

Each class lived within the limitations of its own world, had its own internal organization, maintained its own norms of conduct[35] and every individual had to live up to the standards of his own class. This normal expectancy prevailed, and good-will (in most instances) was maintained. The slave was looked upon as a creature[36] predestined by God to be a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water," a sort of beast of burden. As long as the white man could speak of his Negroes and the slave of his master, there was no sign of antagonism. These race and class distinctions[37] were rigidly enforced.

This old order of things was theoretically wiped out by the Civil War, but so it persisted long after the institution of slavery had been deprived of its social sanctions. It can be truthfully said that in many of its characteristic features it exists today, but it is gradually crumbling. The effect of the gradual dissolution of the social order was to release "interests and passions which, on the plantation, if not in the cities, had achieved something[38] like a stable equilibrium." The resulting struggles, conflicts and hatreds, with the incidental disorganization, released all the latent animosities in the old social order, and created antipathies and prejudices between the races which previously did not exist. The prejudices in the South against the Negro were, are, and will continue to be, prejudices in favor of an order that is changing or no longer exists.[39] "The Negro," Southern people argue, "is all right in his place." Race prejudice in the South, then, is caste prejudice. A combined and united effort to keep the Negro in a subordinate position, and if the Negro were content to remain in a position of subserviency there would be no racial animosities.

The Negro achieved in slavery a definite position in the social life of the South. Tradition has assigned him that place and race prejudice is the means of making him stay there or the cause of the difficulties he encounters when he attempts to get out of it. When the Negro seeks a place in a new occupation or a new profession, he meets decidedly vigorous opposition. When he assumes a new dignity or attempts to be a man among men, he is regarded as ridiculous. When he invades new regions race riots occur. In certain sections of the country a Negro is compelled to pay first class fare for third class accommodation and simply because he is a Negro he may be publicly stigmatized despite his qualifications and attire. Families may lose their property, and homes and churches may be razed to the ground.[40] Children for the most part are deprived of their proper education, denied the use of parks[41] and playgrounds, and "youth is kept from an opportunity to work and from the public enjoyment of wealth which it has helped to create. Not for any individual fault or failing, but because the majority of this group thus singled out for public insult, are descendants of slaves, and, therefore, as a class, less well-clothed, less well-educated, with smaller incomes and with more difficulties to encounter than other people."[42] There are all sorts of prejudices varying from segregated schools to lynchings, and no region seems devoid entirely of prejudice. The spread of prejudice is due partly to the tremendous migration of the Negro between 1910 and 1920 to urban centers.[43] Wholesale shifts of Negro population involve grave social consequences, for rural people suddenly confronted with the necessity of adaptation to city life are beset with the stern problem of, not only economic,[44] but racial adjustment. The rapid increase of Negroes in the cities meant new living quarters to be found, and this has been one of the many causes of friction and race riots. Not only have Negroes moved into cities but they have moved in relatively large cities. Between 1910 and 1920 the Negro population in cities having 100,000 inhabitants and over grew 65 per cent, while the increase in cities ranging from 2,500 to 10,000 was less than 2½ per cent, or a puny fraction of the rate of natural increase.[45]

Racial injustices and legal distortions as regards Negroes are most keen in those regions of the lower South, where slavery was a firm and fixed institution than elsewhere in the United States. One has but to mention Alabama, Mississippi or Georgia and at once the name of any of these three will suggest deeds and acts of violence, mob rule and multifarious indignities heaped upon the heads of thousands of helpless people who have no "law" to protect them. It is more or less mournful and wretchedly unfortunate that certain states have that reputation, but such is the case. Just as the name of Nero stands for notorious debauchery, adultery and licentiousness so is the word Alabama synonymous to maltreatment, abuse and gross discrimination toward a major element of its population. Facts seem to justify conclusions concerning the vague and peculiar conceptions people have formed relative to Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. In 1860 there were

[35] Park: Annals of the American Academy, Vol. 140, pp. 14.
[36] Shaler: Natural History of Human Contacts, pp. 166.
[37] Bassett: Southern Plantation Overseer, pp. 2, 3.
[38] Park: Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Vol. 140, pp. 15.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] A church was burned and Negroes were shot and jailed in Dadeville, Ala., this summer as a result of a meeting held there.
[41] Negroes are not allowed in public parks in Montgomery, Ala., except as servants.
[42] DuBois: Annals of the Amer. Academy of Pol. & Soc. Sci., Vol. 140, pp. 6 7.
[43] Woofter: Basis of Racial Adjustment, pp. 40.
[44] Fry: Annals of the American Academy of Pol. Sci., pp. 28, V. 140.
[45] Woofter: Negro Problems in Cities. Tables 1-2.

(*Continued on page* 209)

NEGRO CULTURE IN RETROSPECT

(Editor's Note: *This was first presented in the form of a program at the Norma Gould Auditorium in Los Angeles, California, on March 15, 1942, under the auspices of the Allied Arts League. It featured Verna Arvey, pianist and narrator, and Marjorie Bright McPherson, dramatic reader; and concluded with an address by the distinguished composer, William Grant Still. Since the program was arranged to last one hour, it was possible to include only the highlights of Negro culture in Africa, Latin America, Europe and the United States. In the form here given, it may be presented as a program by others. It requires a narrator, to read the text as written; a pianist to play the musical selections indicated at the exact points in the text where they are mentioned; a dramatic reader to recite the poems and someone to operate a phonograph. Information as to where the music, poems and records may be secured is given parenthetically throughout the text.*)

IT has been too easy for us to underestimate our own culture. It has been too usual for us to admire and to adopt the cultures of others, meanwhile forgetting that the Negro has a tradition of culture in all the arts extending much farther back than the European. As a matter of fact, it is known that Africa had a highly developed civilization when Europe was still barbaric and crude. In all ages and countries there have been Negro artists and artisans. Many of them have passed into obscurity with the masses of their countrymen and only their handiwork remains. In this respect we may mention the remarkable Negroid sculptures on some ancient Egyptian tombs, and the Benin bronzes which several years ago created such a stir in the contemporary world of art. Some Negro artists were so outstanding that they became immortal. Their names and their work live through the ages.

More than twelve centuries ago lived one of the greatest of Arabian poets. His name was Antar, son of a Negro woman and an Arabian chieftain. He "meant as much to Arabian literature as Homer meant to the Greek." He was born a slave and fought for his freedom. Today his name and his poetry are revered among Arabs. In his stirring verses he expressed nobility and pride in his race. (Antar's poem appears on page 91 of Claude McKay's book, *A Long Way from Home,* published by Lee Furman, Inc., New York.)

Before the coming of the slavetraders, African artists created conscientiously and anonymously, and only the name of the king, or patron under whom they produced, was remembered. The Yoruba Empire was noted for its craftsmen and artists. There is an excellent modern phonograph recording of a Yoruba dance-song. Although the music is strange to our ears, we can hear in it many interesting rhythmic and melodic features, drumbeats and handclaps so precise that they sound like giant castanets. (A Decca recording, No. 20142.)

African music may be balanced by African poetry which is often profound or witty, and usually has a musical cadence, even in translation. Of several available English versions, one of the best is the Dahomean Song for the Dead, translated by Frances Herskovits. (The New Republic, September 4, 1935.)

When the slavetraders robbed Africa of their human cargo, they unwittingly helped to spread African culture throughout the Western world. Every country to which Negroes were taken as slaves has been deeply influenced by this culture. There is a recent recording of a contemporary Brazilian voodoo, or magic song, sung by Elsie Houston, accompanied by the Bongo drum. It is called Jongo, and gives an idea of the close relationship of this type of Brazilian music to African music. (A Liberty Music Shop recording, No. L232a, New York City.) Dances like the Samba, now popular in the United States, show Afro-Brazilian influences in both music and movement.

After all, one of Brazil's most famous composers, A. Carlos Gomez, was a colored man. A certain theme that is heard often on the radio nowadays is the opening four measures of his opera, "Il Guarany." It is significant that this music that is most often used to express Hemispheric solidarity was written by a colored man! Later in the same opera, Gomez wrote a charming ballet and pantomime episode, "Passo Selvaggio," which is typical of all such nineteenth century music for the classic ballet. (The score of *Il Guarany* is published by G. Ricordi and Company, New York City.)

When Africans came to the West Indies, their culture was equally potent. On the Calypso recordings that are distributed today, the music is presented in the accepted modern manner, and yet the African influence is clearly apparent. This is especially true of "Bam See Lam Bay," sung by the Lion. (A Decca recording, No. 17277A.)

In Cuba, Africa merged with Spain and the resulting music is always called "Afro-Cuban." One of Cuba's Negro composers, the late Alejandro Garcia Caturla, wrote a "Comparsa," a Negro dance in which he portrayed the discordant sounds of a primitive Afro-Cuban dance ceremonial. (Published by the New Music Society, April 1937 issue; present address in care of Henry Cowell, New School of Social Research, New York City.) Cuba's popular music is perhaps better known to us at this time. Afro-Cuban popular music has reached us in the form of the Rhumba, music for a dance which is, after all, an African survival. Lecuona's "Karabali" is a good example of this music, particularly when played by Carlos Molina and his orchestra. (A Victor recording, No. 24159A).

Cuba's poets of African descent have created strikingly original poetry, some of which has been translated into English by the American poet, Langston Hughes. Nicolas Quillen's poem, "Ballad of the Two Grandfathers," illustrates this trend of thought unusually well. (Langston Hughes may be reached in care of his publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.)

In Colombia the Negro influence is apparent in the popular music. In the music written for the Bam-

buco, a dance, the irregular, erratic rhythm beneath a smooth melody of the Spanish type definitely indicates an African background.

Haiti's music is colored by the Frenchman as well as by the African. Sometimes the two influences merge, as is the case with the folk tune, "Gelico" by Justin Elie, who is usually recognized as Haiti's leading composer. He arranged "Gelico" for the piano and also created piano compositions in serious vein. His composition, "The Echo: Isma-O!" is subtitled "An Ancient Mountain Legend." (Published by Carl Fischer, Inc., New York City.)

The poems of Jacques Romain, an outstanding Haitian Negro poet, have also been translated into English by Langston Hughes. The poem entitled "Guinea" has a serene beauty and a mood all its own. (For this poem, write to Mr. Hughes in care of his publisher.)

It is well known that on the European scene some of the foremost and most internationally famed artists have been men of color. Pushkin, the idol of the Russian people, lived from 1799 to 1837. It is sometimes difficult for us to appraise his work, since not a great deal of it is available in translation and doubtless, when translated, loses much. Yet such poems as his renowned Stanzas are full of beauty and meaning, no matter in what language they appear. (*Pushkin: the Man and the Artist,* pages 119-120, published by the Paisley Press, Inc., New York City, 1937.)

The dashing Chevalier de St. Georges (1745-1799) lived the greater part of his life in France. He was a famous composer of the day and, strangely enough, a few of his compositions are more readily available in our own Library of Congress at Washington, D. C., than in his native land. It is possible, for a very small sum, to have a photostat made of a short composition, like the first of his quartets for strings, containing a charming Rondeau in the Tempo of a Minuet, then to make a piano arrangement of it if a string quartet is not available for a performance. (The Music Division, Library of Congress, will answer inquiries and arrange for photostats.)

The two colored Dumas, father and son, are famous in the literary world. The elder wrote such imaginative tales as "The Three Musketeers," but in his youth he wrote poetry. One of his poems was "The Wounded Eagle." (*The Incredible Marquis,* pages 105-106, by Herbert Gorman, published by Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York City, 1929.) The first published book of the younger Dumas was also poetry. Much better known is his later work, *La Dame aux Camelias* or "Camille," as it is more often called. The passage beginning "I had just returned from abroad. It was natural that I had not heard of Marguerite's death" is full of poetic meaning, and not a little ironic philosophy.

George Augustus P. Bridgetower, who lived from 1789 to 1860, was a brilliant and celebrated musician, the personal friend of England's King George the Fourth. He wrote for piano a series called "Diatonica Armonica," which may be described as a set of exercises on scales, though much more pleasing to the ear than the usual work of its kind.

The Afro-English composer, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, wrote a great many compositions for the piano. Some of them have won widespread popularity among performers and musicians. One of the most ingratiating is the first of his "Scenes from an Imaginary Ballet."

On the North American scene, one finds the Spirituals, so splendidly arranged by musicians like Hall Johnson and Eva Jessye, balanced with the poetry of the folk, much of it expressed in the words to the Spirituals. What could be more subtly humorous than

> "When I go to Heaven gonna put on my shoes
> And shout all over God's Heaven . . .
> Everybody talkin' about Heaven ain't goin' there!"

and what could be more poetic than this excerpt from "Steal Away":

> "My Lord calls me; He calls me by the thunder;
> The trumpet sounds it in my soul,
> I ain't got long to stay here."

The Blues, immortalized by W. C. Handy, were also a folk expression. They have had a tremendous influence on the music of white composers. Compare, for example, the opening bars of George Gershwin's "Summertime" to a certain melody in W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues"! That is not the only instance of borrowing from the Negro folk, and from Negro composers. Many more might be cited.

Through the years there have been many noted Negro artists: Sebastian Gomez and Juan de Pareja were seventeenth century Spanish painters. Many followed them. Among them were the Americans Henry Tanner, Augusta Savage, Richmond Barthé, Sargent Johnson and more than a score of others. One of the first noted American Negro poets was a woman, Phyllis Wheatley. Since then, another woman writer, Zora Neale Hurston, has been recognized as the foremost contemporary colored writer.

One of the most beloved, and surely one of the most able Negro poets was Paul Laurence Dunbar, who has won a special place in the hearts of Americans. He created almost unequalled beauty in poetry. Some of his lines are quoted and re-quoted in contemporary literature. Among the loveliest poems ever written is his sonnet from *Lyrics of Love and Sorrow*, beginning

> "There are brilliant heights of sorrow . . ."

A delightful new composition for piano, "Clouds," has come from the pen of one of today's foremost colored composers, Clarence Cameron White. (Published by the Boston Music Company.) In sharp contrast is a vivacious little composition, "Ticklin' Toes" (Published by the Theodore Presser Company,

Philadelphia) by Florence B. Price, the colored woman composer who not many years ago won a large cash prize in Chicago for her symphony.

Claude McKay's poetry covers a wide range of subjects and moods. One of his best-known poems is "If We Must Die." (*Modern American Poetry,* page 631, fourth revised edition, edited by Louis Untermeyer, published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York City.) Another contemporary writer whose spirit is strong and courageous is Richard Wright. The attorney's speech at the end of his *Native Son* to the condemned Bigger Thomas is a powerful bit of writing. (The section beginning "What you felt, what you wanted, is what keeps those buildings standing there.")

The younger Negro composers, whose names are slowly but surely coming before the public are Thomas Kerr, Raymond Morris, Ulysses Kay. The latter was at one time a student at the Eastman School of Music at Rochester. He has written a suite of children's pieces from which the "Little Tune" has an especial charm. (Mr. Kay may be reached at 77 Dickerman Street, New Haven, Conn.) Far more pretentious is the "Poéme Erotique" by Melville Charlton, one of our long-established composers. (Published by G. Schirmer, Inc., New York.)

Where James Weldon Johnson's name is known, there also is known his poem, "The Creation," profound in its simplicity of statement; beautiful in its profundity. (Untermeyer's *Modern American Poetry,* page 202, fourth revised edition.) There is something of the wisdom of ancient Africa in Langston Hughes' poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," dedicated to the eminent W. E. B. DuBois (*The Weary Blues,* page 51, by Langston Hughes, published by Knopf in New York City, 1926.)

Although Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett is best known by his rhythmic "Juba Dance," others of his compositions for piano are worth attention. An atmospheric composition is his "A Bayou Garden." (From the suite published by Clayton F. Summy Company, Chicago and New York.) Harry T. Burleigh, who by his splendid singing of Negro Spirituals inspired Anton Dvorak to write in their spirit when he created the New World Symphony, is also a composer who has won many honors and world fame. His "A Jubilee" is a gay, intriguing piano composition. (Published by the Theodore Presser Company, Philadelphia.)

Not many people know that Arna Bontemps was a poet before he became a novelist. One of his early works was "My Heart Has Known Its Winter." (*Ebony and Topaz,* page 118, published by the National Urban League, New York City, in 1927.) Nor must the polished Countee Cullen be forgotten, with his bit of poetic irony, "A Lady I Know." (Untermeyer's *Modern American Poetry,* page 198, fourth revised edition.)

Two colored composers who have made Los Angeles their home are William Grant Still and Samuel Brown. The latter's "Blue Grotto" from his *Pacific Suite* is a nostalgic tone poem with a flowing rhythm. He is an instructor at Jefferson High School in Los Angeles. Mr. Still is, of course, internationally known more, it must be admitted, by his larger symphonic and vocal compositions than by his smaller works. Yet there are availa number of these. Two piano pieces which illustrate splendidly the variety and charm of his style are "Muted Laughter" from *Seven Traceries* and "Blues" from *Lenox Avenue.* (Published by J. Fischer and Bro. in New York City.)

There have been, indeed, so many important Negro artists, composers and writers throughout the ages that everyone must admit that Negro culture is not only an imposing entity of its own, but an integral part of the cultural life of all nations!

Verna Arvey

Environmental Basis of Prejudice in the United States as Concerns the Negro

(*Continued from page* 206)

relatively 4,000,000 slaves in the United States (3,953,760) and of this great army of slaves, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia had a combined total of 1,333,909, or about 36 per cent of the total slave population of the South. In Alabama there were 435,080, in Mississippi 436,631, and in Georgia 462,198 Negro slaves. This percentage would be higher had it not been for Virginia which had 472,994 slaves in 1860. The States of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia therefore held the high and honored position as foremost among the slave states prior to the Civil War.

Although many Negroes have migrated North in quest of better opportunities for labor, civil justice and less open organized hostility, yet about 21 per cent of the Negro population of the United States can be found in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. According to the 1920 census there were 900,653 Negroes in Alabama, 935,174 in Mississippi and 1,206,435 in Georgia for a grand total of 2,232,261 Negroes in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. These States then are the States which were heavily populated with slaves and they are likewise heavily populated with Negroes. In these States likewise the Negro has suffered more possibly than in all the other States in the Union put together. From 1889 to 1929 as many as 3,228 Negroes were lynched in the United States of which number Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia lynched 1,122, or relatively 34 per cent of the total lynchings. Georgia ranks first with 433, Mississippi second with 422 and Alabama fifth with 267. These are only the figures concerning lynching and have naught to do with the attitudes of hatred, prejudice and ill-treatment that permeate that area.

NEGRO LIFE IN BRITISH GUIANA

BRITISH Guiana, known to the peoples of the West Indies and South America as the "Magnificent Province," is the only British possession on the mainland of South America, and is the largest British Crown Colony in the Western Hemisphere. It is the site of the last American air-bases in the chain extending from Newfoundland down to the South American Continent.

Its area is variously estimated at from 90,000 to 100,000 square miles but the figure most nearly correct is 91,500 square miles, or about twice the size of New York State. The population is sparse; —over 350,000 by the latest census. Included in this number are nearly 175,000 natives of African descent, forming approximately 50% of the total inhabitants. The residue is made up of East Indians, Portuguese, Chinese, Europeans, Aboriginal Indians and others.

How do these Negro people live? What is their historical background? What their social customs? Their religion? Their education? Do they feel the yoke of prejudice, segregation, and ostracism with equal severity as in the United States? What about their legal rights? Are they safe-guarded and protected by any constitutional enactments? Does any machinery exist by which given rights may be enforced? What is their political status? Is there universal suffrage? Does their economic status measure up favorably with that of their Negro brothers in the United States?

While it must be admitted that there exists a degree of petty strife and disagreement, yet it may be stated generally that there is greater harmony, better understanding, and more spontaneous sympathy among the Negro population in British Guiana than will perhaps be found in any similar community elsewhere on this globe. Altogether, there is a broader outlook on life, wider liberalism of mind, characteristic of the Guianese, than is true of other individuals of African descent in this Hemisphere. It is difficult to attribute this to any single cause, or combination of causes. But a number of separate causes do suggest themselves;—viz: (1) the vast extent of country, which imposes an idea of breadth of vision; (2) an unquenchable spirit of equality, freedom, and independence; (3) an economic condition slightly better than his West Indian neighbors, with few exceptions; (4) life in a land of plenty with more than enough for all, where no man is permitted to starve because of any misfortune.

It will be a revelation to those who believe that Negroes cannot live amicably one with another, to observe the good fellowship and Christian brotherhood that prevail. By this, I do not intend to infer that controversies do not exist—that would not be human—but I do infer that in proportion to other communities that are in my mind's eye, these manifestations of ill-feelings are reduced to a negligible minimum.

So far as their historical significance is concerned, the Negroes in this country fall into four categories in their origins, viz:—(1) free immigrants; (2) contract-laborers; (3) captured would-be slaves not yet reduced to slavery; (4) slaves proper. Although it is a matter of record, it may occasion great surprise to the uninformed to know that a certain amount of free-immigration was carried on in this colony. And, further, it was encouraged, especially after the British occupation of 1796, because it afforded better security from the slave-uprisings that very frequently occurred, and invariably threatened. As a matter of fact, had Queen Victoria not signed the decree of abolition in the British Dominions at the time she did, today, British Guiana might have earned its independence like Haiti, or, at least, the Negro population might have been enjoying special treaty privileges, similar to those now being enjoyed by the descendants of the famous Maroons of Jamaica.

It is a common fact that only the very weak tribes like the Congos, the Yorubas, the Mandingoes and some others, were reduced to slavery. The Ibos, the Kroos, the Hausas, the Zulus, the Ashantees, the Bantus, and other war-like tribes travelled about as contract-laborers. And a psychological impression has been left upon the minds of the descendants of these different tribes. Their outlook on life is strongly affected by their known origin. In general, the descendants of free tribes evince a fierce spirit of independence, fearlessness, moral and physical, an open indifference to the claims of superiority of any other race, and commendable pride in the little known history of their African ancestors. On the other hand, there is a hopeless resignation to fate, a feeling of utter despair and abject dejection noticeable in not a few of the Negroes in more isolated districts, which are found to be the hall-mark of a slave origin.

The social customs prevailing among the Negro population in British Guiana are a mixture of European, chiefly British, and African tribal, modified through years of local independent growth. In the higher strata of society, i.e. among the professional and near-professional class, the culture imbibed from contact with the European officials is apparent, although not to the total exclusion of native customs. Dress, speech, mannerisms, games, follow the European order. Many of these are acquired in British schools, colleges, and universities which this class of Negroes can afford to attend, though none too easily, at times.

The man in the street has a greater leaning to his African ancestors. Yet he, too, follows in the footsteps of his more exalted brother. Still, however, he clings to the superstitions, philosophy, and existing customs of his race. In defiance of law, he dances the African Fire Dance, the banned, horrifying, and evil Comfoh Dance, and the popular African Wedding Ceremonial Dance. The proverbs of his fore-

fathers fall from his lips a hundred times every day. He has inherited the skill to know the usefulness of herbs that the witch-doctors of old so astonishingly demonstrated; and he clings tenaciously to the belief in this efficacy, with a high disregard and contempt for the "White man's medicine." And there are many who could give good testimony of miraculous herb cures. Old age is respected and reverenced, and youth is assigned to its proper sphere.

In religious matters the European influence excels. The Episcopal Church stands supreme, followed by the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist and others, in that order. A few profess Mohammedanism. Side by side with a deep Christian faith, there runs an inconsistent fatalism reminiscent of pagan days. It is not possible to ascertain with reasonable certitude any native African faith. If such a faith ever existed then it has been definitely relegated to oblivion, unless the belief centered around the "Comfoh Dance," of invoking evil spirits to aid the suppliant can be placed in this class.

Education is purely British. Attendance in the public elementary schools is free and compulsory by law, up to the age of fourteen, although at twelve a pupil is calculated to have completed his elementary work. After that, higher education must be paid for. But this fact offers no great impediment to secondary education, hence a respectable number of pupils avail themselves of it. Negro teachers dominate this profession, beginning with the lowly pupil-teacher and ending with the dignified school-inspector. Since there are no colleges of university grade in the country, attendance at one of the English Universities — Oxford, Cambridge, London, and the like, is necessary in order to qualify for one of the learned professions. Of late a custom has grown up in which all examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, or Bachelor of Science, from the University of London, may be taken in Georgetown, the capital, under proper government supervision, thus effecting an immense saving to those candidates.

Recently, more and more students from British Guiana have been attending Howard University and a few other American Universities especially since the start of the present European War.

Perhaps it may not serve any useful purpose, but it may not be amiss to make a comparison between a pupil who has completed the eighth grade in this country, and one who has finished the sixth standard in British Guiana. All other things being equal, in my opinion, the pupil from beyond the seas should have a better foundation in Reading, Arithmetic, Spelling, Writing, Grammar and Composition. The American pupil should be be the better in Civics, Hygiene, and Geography. This opinion is based on teaching experience both here and in Guiana. The system abroad is to teach a few subjects, but intensively, with frequent repetitions.

It is remarkable to note that, although no Negro history is taught anywhere in British Guiana, somehow knowledge of this nature is disseminated even against the decrees of the government, which finds it expedient to suppress some of the more radical American Negro papers that find themselves in the colony now and then.

It would be incorrect to make a categorical statement to the effect that prejudice, segregation, and ostracism do or do not exist, more or less severely. To my mind, prejudice will be found wherever the white and Negro races come into contact with each other. But there it is not that unreasoning and unreasonable behavior which is a blot on American culture. Whenever prejudice is found, it is directed to the individual rather than at the race. A man is accepted for what he offers himself to be, regardless of race, color, or creed. If he conducts himself like a gentleman, then he is treated and respected as a gentleman. Segregation is unknown in any form. Equally untrue would be a statement that there is no ostracism. Yet, again, this social ban is not directed against the Negro, in toto, but is governed by the actions of the individual, and is not restricted to any race. Once applied, however, it is inexorable and involves consequences not equalled here.

The basis of all legal rights in British Guiana is two-fold, viz:— (a) The Roman-Dutch Law relating to Real Property; (b) The English Common Law relating to Personal Property, Criminal Law and Procedure (Civil and Criminal). The laws are universal in their application. All legal rights are safe-guarded by British constitutional guarantees. The Writ of Habeas Corpus, Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights are as strongly entrenched as in the United States. Justice is sure, swift, and uncompromising, and is absolutely oblivious to race, color, or creed, or station in life. On the contrary, the higher the status is, the greater is the fall. Equality before the law is a cold realism.

The machinery for enforcing legal rights is very much simplified and is calculated to reduce the costs of litigation, so as to place justice within easy reach of the poorest. The Magistrate Courts, presided over by native men of color are the courts of first instance, civil and criminal. Appeal therefrom lies to the Supreme Court in its Appellate jurisdiction; thence, to the Judicial Committee of The Privy Council in London, except in matters criminal, which must first appear before the West Indian Court of Appeal. These superior courts have no judges of color, but the profession as a whole, like Medicine, is dominated by Negroes, and an atmosphere of the deepest, mutual respect and cordiality prevails between Bench and Bar. The ethics of the profession are of a high order, emulating the Bar of Great Britain, to which it looks for guidance.

By far the most lamentable status of the Negro is his political

(*Continued on page* 200)

CHARLES LEWIS REASON

CHARLES LEWIS REASON, the subject of this sketch, was born in New York City, July 21, 1818. His parents came from Haiti, which in those times was the scene of unrest and revolution, and settled in New York.

Charles and his brothers, Patrick and Elmer, attended the New York African Free School on Mulberry Street, established by the New York Manumission Society. Patrick became noted as an engraver and artist. At the age of thirteen years he engraved the portrait of the Mulberry Street School which is the frontispiece of Andrews' *History of the African Free School in the City of New York.* He became a well-known and highly respected figure in the public life of the race prior to the Civil War.

Charles, who specialized in mathematics, made a record as a brilliant student in school. In 1832, when the Manumission Society decided to reorganize the schools by appointing all-colored faculties, Charles, then only fourteen years of age, was selected as an instructor. He was so ambitious to make the most of himself by improving his education and thus prepare himself for greater usefulness that he used his salary as a teacher to secure instruction in the higher branches of learning from private tutors. That his perseverance was rewarded with a ripe scholarship is attested by the call which he received some years later to fill the chairs of Belles-Lettres, French and Mathematics at Central College, New York.

That he was recognized as a precocious youth of great promise is evident, for in 1837, before he had attained his majority, he had entered public life and was secretary of the Colored Political Association formed by the Negroes of New York to agitate for the repeal of the provision in the State Constitution which deprived them of equal right to the franchise. This right the free Negroes of the State had enjoyed, without distinction, from the earliest times under both colonial rule and the first Constitution of the State adopted in 1777. In 1821, however, when a State convention was held to revise the State Constitution, among the amendments adopted was one which established a property qualification for Negroes entitled to the vote. The Political Association agitated for the repeal of this amendment and for other measures of vital importance to the race. Thomas L. Jennings, a noted figure of the times, a real estate dealer by occupation, was president of the organization, and Henry Sipkins, who had been president of the national conventions of the colored people held in 1832 and 1834, was vice-president.

In 1840 this Association secured the passage of an act by the State legislature granting trial by jury to persons accused as fugitives from slavery, and the next year, 1841, another act extinguishing the right of slaveholders to bring slaves within the State for a period of nine months, a statutory privilege which they had exercised after the abolition of slavery in the State in 1827. These laws were secured in the heat of the slavery agitation, while public sentiment in the State was being slowly moulded in favor of universal freedom.

The movement to abolish slavery in the nation had received considerable impetus from its total abolition in New York State, and the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 with headquarters in New York city. Several leading colored men of the city were members of the executive committee and board of managers of this Society throughout its history, and also of its chief auxiliary in the city. There were in the city several other auxiliaries whose officers and members were all Negroes. New York City in the early years of the movement was the scene of mob violence directed against it and its leaders, and it was at all times a hot-bed of anti-slavery agitation. The city, too, had numerous branch stations of the Underground railroad for fugitives from the South. Reason was one of the "other true men of the time," spoken of by Frederick Douglass in his autobiography, who befriended and shielded these fugitives. They were a noble band, and among them were many of the most famous leaders of the Negroes of ante-bellum and Civil War times. Besides Jennings and Sipkins and Reason, there were scores of others like James W. C. Pennington, James McCune Smith, Theodore S. Wright, pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church, Samuel E. Cornish, Philip A. Bell and Charles Bennett Ray, editors of the local newspaper, *The Colored American.*

Reason possessed and had cultivated a gift for poetic composition of a high order, and during the agitation for the repeal of the suffrage amendment in the Constitution wrote a stirring poem, entitled "The Spirit Voice." It was a call to arms of the disfranchised Negroes of the State. Lack of space will permit only a few lines of this poem to be quoted here:

Come! rouse ye brothers, rouse! a peal now breaks
From lowest island to our gallant lakes;
'Tis summoning you, who long in bonds have lain,
To stand up manful on the battle plain,
Each as a warrior, with his armor bright,
Prepared to battle in a bloodless fight.

'Tis calling you, who now too long have been
Sore victims suffering under legal sin
To vow no more to sleep, till raised and freed
From partial bondage, to a life indeed.

Come rouse ye brothers, rouse, nor let the voice
That shouting, calls you onward to rejoice
Be heard in vain! but with ennobled souls,
Let all whom now an unjust law controls,
Press on in strength of mind, in purpose bent,
To live by right: to swell the free tones sent
On Southern airs, from this your native State,
A glorious promise for the captive's fate.
Then up! and vow no more to sleep, till freed
From partial bondage to a life indeed.

A second convention to revise the Constitution of the State was held in 1846, but the forces of the slave power were too strongly intrenched in the politics of the State for the Negroes to regain full right to the ballot, notwithstanding the fact that this convention was called primarily to remove all constitutional barriers to full manhood suffrage. These forces realized that a victory for the Negroes would be hailed as a victory against slavery. Therefore, their allies in the State, who were numerous and very powerful, succeeded in incorporating into the new Constitution the obnoxious provision which had been inserted in the instrument of 1821. The best that the colored people could secure from the convention was a referendum of the proposition to the voters at the ensuing election. But, notwithstanding the justice of their cause, and the strenuous efforts put forth by their leaders and friends to secure its adoption, the referendum was defeated by a large majority.

Reason was in the thick of this fight, and his addresses and contributions to the public press on the subject are described as being "eminently effective in style and matter."

An incident in his career in those times serves to show his manliness and his stern, uncompromising devotion to human rights and the principles of true Christianity. Distinguished for his culture and the purity of his life, he was chosen by the vestry of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, of which he was a member, as a student of theology and sought admission to the General Theological Seminary. The bishop of the New York diocese, however, exercised his veto, and Reason was refused admission to the Seminary, except as a listener. This insult Reason indignantly refused to accept; he would not compromise with a sham Christianity. When the vestry of his church failed to support his position by remonstrating with the bishop, he immediately severed his connection with the church, and his candidacy ended.

Reason plunged also into another important battle. The financial support of public schools in New York was a serious problem from their beginning in 1805. They were opened under private auspices by a group of public spirited citizens who secured a charter from the Legislature incorporating a quasi-public corporation, known as the New York Public School Society. The Legislature at the same time laid the basis of a State School Fund to support public education in the State, but funds from this source did not become available till many years later. The whole support of the system at first depended upon private benefactions and tuition fees paid by the parents and guardians of the pupils. Many years later after public funds had become available, sufficient to warrant it, the collection of tuition fees was abandoned by the Society, and instruction in the schools maintained by it became absolutely free. After this event the Manumission Society which owned all the school buildings and equipment of the colored schools, which had been supported almost wholly by the generosity of philanthropists and the contributions of the colored people from their inception in 1787, transferred its properties to the Public School Society, and the colored schools then became a part of the school system conducted by that Society. This took place in 1834. However, gifts in support of common schools were still essential, as the income from the State School Fund and from taxes levied for their support were insufficient to support the system, which was undergoing rapid growth and expansion. More and more public opinion in the city began to change to the position that public education should be taken out of the hands of a private corporation and made a function of government. This resulted in the passage of an act by the Legislature in 1842 under which a Board of Education was created in New York City, having no authority, however, to interfere with the schools conducted by the Public School Society. A dual system of education was thereby put in operation which lasted until 1853, when the two systems voluntarily merged, and the Public School Society was dissolved.

During this controversy the colored schools, which were still conducted as separate schools, were neglected and, in some instances, were closed. In this emergency, Charles Lewis Reason was one of a large group of leading Negro citizens, including John Peterson, principal of the Mulberry Street School, who organized the New York Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children. Patrick Reason, Charles' brother was secretary of the Society. The Legislature incorporated this Society in December, 1847, granting to it authority to open non-sectarian schools for colored children under its control and management, but subject to the supervision of the Board of Education of the city. The schools organized by it shared in the apportionment of state school funds and local school taxes by the terms of its charter, but any deficiency in the funds required to maintain them had to be made up by contributions from the Society's membership.

The Society opened two schools in 1848, one in the basement of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, then located on Center Street, and another on Thomas Street. Charles Lewis Reason was made principal of the one on Thomas Street and remained there until he resigned to become a member of the faculty of Central College, Cortlandt County, New York, an institution formed for higher education, without distinction as to race. He did not stay at this institution more than two years. He became dissatisfied with its management. He resigned and some time later was selected as principal of the Institute for Colored Youth, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Here he remained for three years, when he was appointed by the Board of Education of New York City, as principal of School No. 6, situated on Broadway, between Thirty-fifth

and Thirty-sixth Streets. He commenced his labors there in 1856 and held this post for thirty-seven years until his death in 1893.

One of the problems of the separate school in New York was a population that tended constantly to shift its locale. From the earliest times the Negroes were in the vanguard of the population as it moved northward on the Island. When the first school was opened in 1787 it was located on Cliff Street in which neighborhood most of the colored people resided; later, a school building was erected for them on William Street, near Duane; and still later, in 1820, the famous Mulberry Street School, between Hester and Grand streets, was built. The colored population then inhabited many famous downtown streets,— Mott and Baxster, Worth and Leonard, Center and Mulberry among them. When the Laurens Street School was established and Ransom F. Wake assumed charge in 1836, the district west of Washington Square contained a large and growing settlement. In 1856, when Reason took charge of School No. 6, large numbers had migrated to a district in the Thirties which came to be known as the "tenderloin." Each of these sections were at one time suburban parts of the city. There was a constant search among the colored people for cheaper and better housing accommodations, and these could be found mostly in the newer districts, where the rise in land values and improvements had not made higher rents a necessity.

The schools had to follow the trend of population, and this in part explains why most of them were situated in rented premises. After the Civil War a large migration set in from the Southern States and occupied sections above the "tenderloin," in the Forties and Fifties, and up on the east side as far north as One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street and Third Avenue. Such a school was located for some years in One Hundred and Twentieth Street not far from Third Avenue. Number 6 school was moved twice before it secured a permanent home in 1872 in an imposing and large brick structure on West Forty-first Street, near Eighth Avenue.

The school population in many of these widely separated sections was not sufficient to warrant the establishment of a separate school, and many hundreds of Negro children grew up illiterate for the want of school facilities. Long before the neighborhood schools were thrown open to them by law a few had sought and obtained admission to them in these isolated sections. Reason saw the great injury that was inflicted upon the colored people by this lack of adequate school facilities, and he, with other public spirited leaders of the race, led in a movement to secure the integration of the Negro schools in one common public school system, free to all children alike. He did this knowing full well the peril to himself and his associates in the teaching profession involved in such a course, for the caste spirit was deeply rooted in the white community, and among those particularly affected, the white teachers, to many of whom the thought of having colored teachers instruct white pupils was repugnant. A man of smaller intellectual and moral caliber would have kept silent under such circumstances, content to abide in the security of his own position; not he, however, for Reason was a leader of his people who never sacrificed principle to expediency; he courted danger when necessary for a cause which he believed to be just.

The agitation for better school facilities came at a time after the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution when civil rights for Negroes had become a major issue in national politics. Senator Charles Sumner was waging a valiant battle in Congress to secure the passage of a bill which was popularly referred to as "Sumner's Civil Rights Bill," and the President of the United States, General Ulysses S. Grant, had urged the nation in his second inaugural address to grant to the Negro every civil right enjoyed by other citizens. In New York the question of better school facilities for colored children became a part of this larger issue, and a committee of three prominent Negro leaders, — Rev. William F. Butler, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, and John J. Freeman, editor of *The Progressive American,* the leading Negro newspaper of the period, was appointed by a Citizens Civil Rights Committee which had been formed, and of which Reason was secretary, to go to Albany and with other leaders of the State strive for the passage of a civil rights bill which had been introduced in the Legislature at the request of the Committee.

This bill, known as Chapter 186, Laws of 1873, was passed by the Legislature and with the signature of Governor John A. Dix, became a law on April 9, 1873. Among other provisions, it made it a misdemeanor punishable by fine, for "trustees, commissioners, superintendents, teachers and other officers of common schools and public institutions" of the State to exclude or except any citizen by reason of "race or color, or previous condition of servitude," and repealed and annulled any law, statute, ordinance or regulation existing in the State which discriminated against any citizen by the use of the word "white" or any other term.

This act was hailed as a landmark in the history of the Negroes and of humane legislation in the State. In New York City a huge mass-meeting was held in the great hall of Cooper Union to celebrate the event, attended by leaders of great prominence of both races, and Reason read congratulatory messages from Governor Dix, and many distinguished friends and leaders of the race, — Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison among the number. The passage of this act was no ordinary achievement at that time in New York, for less than four years had passed since a State referendum to give to the Negroes equal right to the suffrage had been defeated by a large majority of votes.

This act, while it opened the doors of all the schoolhouses in the State to Negro pupils, did not open them to the Negro teacher, and the alert and sinister forces of caste and race prejudice which forever hound the path of the Negro to block his way to a fuller life, saw in this their opportunity to eliminate the Negro teacher from the public school system. They anticipated that these colored schools would soon disappear and with them their Negro teachers. These enemies underestimated, however, the resources of these teachers and the loyalty and devotion to them of a large part of the colored population, which, be it said to their lasting honor, kept their children in these schools while their teachers were not integrated in the school system. Many parents did not hesitate to send or take their children by the neighborhood schools, often miles distant from their homes, that they might continue under the instruction of these teachers.

This became a contest of endurance which lasted for eleven years, during which some of the separate schools were compelled to close their doors; the two oldest, the historic ones on Laurens Street in 1878, and the one on Mulberry Street in 1883. At last, so thought their enemies, the time was at hand when the Negro teacher would be a thing of the past in the public school system of the city. After a prolonged contest in the Board of Education they succeeded in securing the adoption of an amendment to the By-Laws of the Board abolishing the separate schools, with no provision made therein for the Negro teachers, many of whom had grown old in the service. But before this amendment became effective on September 1, 1884, the date fixed for their demise, the colored teachers, assisted by Mr. James C. Matthews, the brilliant Negro lawyer of Albany, New York, and with the cordial support of many friends of human rights, including Governor Grover Cleveland, then the candidate of the Democratic party for President of the United States, had succeeded in securing the passage of an act by the State Legislature incorporating the separate schools in the public school system of the city, together with their faculties. Thereupon, School No. 6, of which Reason was still principal, became Public School No. 80, open to the children of all races.

The evil spirits of a vanishing era, however, were not to be thus easily baffled. Chagrined and enraged at this master stroke and filled with all ill-will, they contrived to have the building on Forty-first Street taken from No. 80, aiming their blows at the genius who had blocked them, and housed in private dwellings on Forty-second Street, old and ill-adapted for such use. Malice alone could dictate such an act, for just a block south, on Fortieth Street, there was a schoolhouse equally as large, and sufficient to accommodate the needs of the neighborhood, which was used exclusively for white pupils. Here in these old buildings on Forty-second Street our Merlin bided his time, surrounded by his faithful staff of teachers and loyal pupils, and demonstrating anew the truth that the schoolhouse is not the school. At last the good sense and justice of the community asserted itself and erased this blot from the fair name of the city. The building on Forty-first Street was restored to the school, and there Reason spent the last years of his life.

In appearance Reason was a man of noble physique, grave and dignified and modest in his demeanor. He was not one who sought on the hustings the plaudits of the multitude, but he was a stalwart who gave above all else to the cause of human rights that—

"... creative, fervent thought,
Earnest in life, and in its purpose bent
To uphold truth and right,"

which he extolled in one of his early poems as essential to secure the triumph of a righteous cause.

As an educator he was a deep student of the curricula of the school and the needs of youth. Long before manual and vocational training had been introduced in courses of public instruction, he advocated a system of education which combined the training of both mind and hand, as best calculated to promote in young people lives of usefulness, self-respect and self-dependence. As a teacher, Bishop Daniel A. Payne, founder of Wilberforce University, said of him:

"I have visited many schoolhouses in the United States and in foreign lands, and closely watched the methods of many teachers, but I have seldom met his equal, never his superior."

Reason was beloved and greatly respected by his associates in the teaching profession and by the many pupils who were fortunate to come under his influence. The fruits of his exacting and painstaking interest in their education were exhibited in the careers of many persons of distinction. The masses of Negroes in his native city venerated him during the latter half of the nineteenth century as an able, upright and noble leader. He left his mark indelibly upon the school system of New York by his insistent and effective efforts to achieve equal opportunity for both pupil and teacher and by his achievements helped to infuse in it the spirit and principle of true democracy. The opportunities which Negroes now enjoy in the system, rest in large measure upon the foundations which he and his valiant compatriots laid.

ANTHONY R. MAYO

George Washington, Founder of Centralia

(*Continued from page* 197)

In 1922, the Women's Civic Club presented the marble seat in the city park in memory of George Washington, Founder of Centralia.

ROBERT W. O'BRIEN
Seattle, Washington
University of Washington

Recent Books

(*Continued from page* 205)

what others are urged not to do. Some of the books approved give a distorted picture of the large majority of the members of the Negro race.

THE NEGRO IN THE FAR WEST

THERE are not many Negroes in the Far West—in the Mountain and Pacific States. The West as a whole has about 125,000 Negroes, and most of these live in cities. The Negro rural population of the Far West is hardly more than 20,000. Only a few Negroes, whether urban or rural, dwell in Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and Oregon. A slightly larger number dwell in Washington, Arizona, and Colorado. California, with a Negro population of about 100,000, leads all of the States of the Far West in this respect.

The reasons given for this small number of Negroes in the Far West is the usual comment that this race is not a pioneering one—that the Negro prefers to remain where he is and to enjoy what he has at present rather than risk all by invading new fields for other gains. There may be some truth in this statement, but it does not necessarily reflect discredit upon the Negro. Too much of the pioneering spirit is an evil rather than a blessing.

Yet it cannot be said that the Negro has not gone in quest of richer lands and better opportunities just as others have done. Negroes living along the Atlantic seaboard, whether slave or free, often thought of the Far West as a place of refuge from evils. Some ambitious Negroes moved into the Northwest Territory and a few into the area which eventually became Missouri, but pioneers of the other race went into those same parts carrying with them the same evils from which Negro pioneers were endeavoring to escape. The only thing remaining to be done, then, was to move farther west, and even there the same evils followed them.

In the first place, the Negro had not the knowledge of things and places to help him to decide where and when to go. Then he had few facilities and little equipment of his own. With a few exceptions, the Negro frontiersmen had to subordinate themselves as companions of others or risk the loss of time and means in unprofitable adventure. Once on the ground, Negroes faced the difficulty of establishing claims to land on which they settled. In some places there were special provisions against the ownership of land by Negroes, and where such laws did not exist public opinion was hostile. In the settlement of the West, moreover, there was much confusion resulting from efforts of rushing pioneers to grab lands on which others had settled. Usually when such claims were brought before the courts the Negroes were dispossessed, especially in the gold fields.

In the Far West, too, the Negroes had difficulty in finding labor. In the development of the mines during the 'forties and 'fifties persons of mechanical skill were required, and numbers of Negroes went there for this service. At that time, however, the trades unions were growing stronger and race prejudice still stronger. Negroes, because of their color, were denied the opportunity to work as skilled laborers. They were to be kept on the lower level of employment just as they had been in the East from which they had migrated for a new opportunity. Negroes, therefore, were to occupy the extreme of the most prosperous whites. Negroes would not be allowed to hold the lands and the great mineral wealth of the country; they would be denied credit with which to acquire such possessions, and they would not enter upon the higher pursuits of labor at which they might earn sufficient money to rise to the level of an owner or operator.

This was a rather hard hurdle for the Negro pioneer; but, as shown elsewhere in this issue, some Negroes made the mark. M. W. Gibbs was prohibited from working at his trade in California, but he was not barred from business. So he entered upon merchandising and became wealthy while most of the mechanics who deprived him of the right to labor toiled on as mere wage earners. From California Gibbs went to Vancouver and developed a profitable coal business. Others like George Bush, the farmer, not only succeeded in establishing themselves, but had sufficient generosity to help some of those who had tried to handicap them. The achievements of the Negroes in the Far West, therefore, must be evaluated by taking all these factors into consideration. To proceed otherwise would distort the story of a part of the population of this country and thus misrepresent it to the generations to come.

Index of Volume V

A

Abbott, Anderson R., 159
Abbott, Robert S., 190
Abraham, Negro, an interpreter and representative of Indiana, 149-150
Abyssinian Baptist Church, 29
Acorn Bank, 89
Adams, Cyrus Field, 190
Adams, Henry, 78, 91
Adams, Henry, leader of the exodus of 1879, 140-141
Africa, 32, 34
African Free Schools, 27, 47
African Grove, a theatre, 30
African Methodist Episcopal Church, 29, 102
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, 29, 102
African Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, 54
Agricultural conventions, 101
Alabama, the Negro in, 124-126, 140-142
"Alabama Citizens of Achievement," 134, 143
Albany Normal, 141
Aldridge, Ira, 31-32
Alexander, Raymond Pace, 58
Alexander, Sadie T. Mossell, 58
Alexander, W. G., 70
Alexander, William, 78, 79
Allen, James Egert, article by, 41
Allen, Macon B., 9
Allen, Richard, 29, 53, 62, 77
Allen, Richard, of Texas, 140
Alton, Illinois, riot at, 172
Allmond, William, 57
"America's First Woman Bank President," 75, 95
American Colonization Society, 29, 54
American Convention of Abolition Societies, 28, 76
"American Negro Soldiery," 159-161, 167
American Revolution, 5
Anderson, Alfred E., 102
Anderson, C. M., 58
Anderson, Charles W., 33, 79
Anderson, Marian, 34
Anderson, Matthew, 58
Andrew, John A., 10
Andrews, C. C., 20
Antigua, Negroes from, 52
Antoine, C. C., 126
Armstrong, S. C., 81
Armstrong Manual Training School, 81
Asbury, John Cornelius, 57, 58, 68-69
Assistance, public, 142
Atkins, S. G., 102
Atlanta Baptist College, 141
Atlanta University, 141
Attucks, Crispus, 6, 11
Atwood, R. B., 81
Augusta, Alexander T., 159
Augustins, the, 53
Austin, Louis, article by, 112
Avery College, 56
Avery Institute, 141

B

Babbit, Bessie, 7-8
Bacote, C. A., article by, 130
Bagley, John, 177
Baldwin, Maria Louise, 19-20
Ballard Normal School, 141
Banks controlled by Negroes, 142
Banneker, Benjamin, 85, 86
Bannister, Edwin M., 18
Baptists, the, 102
Barbados, Negroes from, 52
Barnett, Ida B. Wells, 182-183
Barnett, Nelson, 79
Barthé, Richmond, 34, 164
Bass, Harry, 57
Bass, Urbane F., 160
Bayne, Thomas, 78
Beach School, 141
Beatty, A. Lee, 190
Beatty-Brown, Florence, article by, 103, 104-105
Beaumont, Joe, 163
Beck, Thomas, 140
Beckett, Verona E., 57, 67-68
Beebe, J. A., 118
Beecher, Henry Ward, 32
Bell, George, 77
Bell, Philip A., 32
Beman, Amos Gerry, 8-9
Benezet, Anthony, 52, 53
Benjamin, Edgar P., 13
Benjamin, R. C. O., 92-93
Bennett College, 102
Berea College, 81, 101
Bibb, Henry, 77
Biddle University, (Smith), 102
Big Ben, a book review, 133
Bigelow, Francis, 10
Binga, Anthony, 79
Birney, James G., 172
Bishop, Hutchins C., 43-44
Bishop, Josiah, 77
Blackwell, G. L., 58
Bland, James, 33
Blount, Louis C., 190
Boardman, Helen, article by, 40
Bolin, Jane, 33
Bordentown, School at, 70, 71
Border States, the Negro in, 76-82, 89
Boston, Negroes in, 3
Bowen, Anthony, 77
Bowen, John W. E., 143
Bowling, R. H., 79
Boyd, Henry, 188
Boyd, J. W., 101
Boyd, R. H., 114-115, 119
Boxley, Indiana, 198-200
Braden, John, 102
Braithwaite, William S., article by, 142-143
Braxton, P. H. A., 79
Bright, Nellie R., 57
"British Guiana, Negro Life in," 200, 211
Brock, Howard, 70
Brockenton, J. P., 141
Brodhead, John H., 57
Brooks, Charles H., 57
Brooks, Daniel A., 57
Brooks, John H., 78
Brooks, Walter H., 79
Brooks, William H., 34
Brooks, W. Sampson, 79
Brown, Ed., 140
Brown, C. S., 102, 111
Brown, Charlotte Hawkins, 111
Brown, Homer, 57, 58
Brown, H. W., 70
Brown, James W., 34
Brown, John, 172; George Boxley, a prototype of, 198-200
Brown, L. G., 70
Brown, Morris, 62
Brown, William Wells, 3, 77
Brown, W. W., 34
Browne, W. W., 82, 86
Bruce, B. K., 77, 126, 135
Bruce, John E., 34
Bruce, Roscoe C., 80
Bryant, Ira T., 102
Bryant, I. V., 79
Bunker Hill, 159
Burleigh, Harry T., 34
Burns, Anthony, 10
Burrell Normal School, 141
Burroughs, Nannie H., 80
Burrows, Daniel, 33
Burton, W. M., 140
Bush, George, 195
Bush, William Owen, 195, 196

C

Cain, R. H., 126, 141
Caldwell, J. S., 58
Calfee, William H., 158
Calhoun, Stewart, 79
Calloway, A. H., 80
Cameron, Paul C., 119
Campbell, James Edwin, 82
Canada, 171, 172, 196, 197
Capehart, H. J., 79
Capers, William, 141
Capitol Savings Bank, 82
Cardozo, F. L., 126
Cardozo Business High School, 81
Carey, Mary Shadd, 77
Cargell, J. M., 78
Carney, Sergeant, 10
Carroll, J. B., 80
Carroll, J. C., articles by, 178, 187, 188, 198-200
Carson, Perry, 78
Carter, Eunice Hunton, 33
Cary, Lott, 77, 78
Cassells, T. Frank, 101
Cassey, Joseph C., 30
Castra, Hypolite, 163
"Catherine Ferguson," 38-39
Centennial in 1876, 195
Central Colored High School, 82
Centralia, founded by a Negro, 194, 197
Chandler Normal School, 81
"Charles Lewis Reason," 212-215
Chase, Marie S., 57
Chase, W. C., 78
Chavis, John, 98, 100, 119
Cheatham, H. P., 101, 104-105
Cherokees, the, 149, 150
Chesnutt, Charles W., 102, 184
Chester, Morris, 56
Cheyney, school at, 56
Chicago, the Negro in, 171, 179, 182-184, 192
Chickasaws, the, 149, 150
Choctaws, the, 149, 150
Christian, Calvin, article by, 152-153
Christiana Riot, 55
Church, R. R., 119
Citron, Alice, report by, 152, 153
Civil War, 125, 126, 140, 203
Clair, Matthew W., 79
Clark, Dovie, article by, 176, 184
Clark, Edward V., 30
Clark, Eugene A., 80
Clark, Peter Humphries, 174 184
Clay, Cassius M., 81, 172
Clayton, Moses C., 77
Clement, R. E., 81
Cleveland, James P., 80
Clifford, J. R., 93
Climate and soils, 202-203
Clinton, J. J., 102
Cochrans, the, 197
Coffin, Levi, 172
Coker, Daniel, 77
Cole, Robert, 33, 45
Coleman, John V., 79
Coleman, Warren, 119
"Color," a poem by, Mavis B. Mixon, 37
Colored Methodists, 102
Colored Orphan Asylum, 54
Colson, James, 81
Columbia, Pennsylvania, 55
Columbus, Christopher, 148, 155
Commercial Bank and Trust Company, 89
Confederacy, forerunners of, 101, 201, 203, 206, 209
Congress, Negroes in, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134-138
Connecticut, special interest of, 5, 6
Conservative ideas, 141
Constitution of the United States, 171, 172
Continental Savings Bank, 89
Cook, George F. T., 80
Cook, John F., 77, 83
Cook, Mrs. J., 177
Cook, Will Marion, 34
Cooks, the, 77, 83
Cooper, E. E., 78, 190
Coppin, Fannie Jackson, 66-67
Coppin, L. J., 79
Coppin Normal School, 82
Cornish, Samuel E., 32, 38
Corprew, E. G., 79
Costin, Louisa Parke, 77
Cotters, the, 88-90
Cotton, 202, 203
Cotton, Jiles, 140
Cotton gin, 124, 125
Council, William Hooper, 134, 143
Cowderys, the, 58
Craft, Ellen, 10
Craft, Harry K., 34
Craft, William, 10
Crawford, George W., 22
Credit, Wm. A., 58

Creeks, the, 149, 150
Crogman, William H., 130, 142
Cromwell, J. W., 56, 78
Crosby, John O., 102
Crosson, Wilhelmina M., articles by, 3, 16-17; mention of, 23
Crowe, Mary Davis, article by, 191
Crummell, Alexander, 31, 79
Cuffe, Paul, 1, 7
Cullen, Countee, 34
Cullen, F. A., 34
Cummings, Harry S., 78
Cuney, Norris Wright, 139-140
Curtis, Anna L., book by, 23
Cutler, Manasseh, 171

D

Dalcour, Paul, 163
Dane, Helen E., article by, 14-15
Davis, C. L., 80
Davis, General B. O., 161
Davis, Harry E., 190
Davis, Hylan V., article by, 17-18
Davis, Jackson, 29, 35
Davis, Jefferson, 125
Davis, John W., 82
Davis, Noah, 77
Davis, William A., quotation from, 131
Day, Thomas, 99, 118-119
DeBaptiste, Richard, 179, 182
DeBerry, W. N., 22
DeBose, H., 102
Declaration of Independence, 173, 191
De Coursey, Irene A., article by, 131
De Grasse, Count, Negroes in fleet of, 159
Delaney, Hubert T., 33
Delany, Martin R., 55, 77
De Large, Robert C., 126
Delaware, the Negro in, 76
Dennison, Colonel, 160
DePriest, Oscar, 102, 190
Derrick, W. B., 79
Derricotte, E. P., 116
De Saible, Jean Baptiste Point, 171, 192
Des Moines, training camp at, 159-160
Dickason, H. L., 82
Dickerson, G. Edward, 58
Dillard, Irving, article by, 191
"Distinguished Negroes in New England," 14-23
"Distinguished Negroes in New York," 38-47
"Distinguished Negroes in Ohio," 174-176, 184
District of Columbia, the Negro in, 76, 77, 78, 79
Divine, Father, 34
Dogan, John, 102
"Do You Know That?" 3
Domestic Life Insurance Company, 89
Dorantes, Stephen, 146, 148
Dorchester Academy, 141
Dorseys, the, 53
Douglas, Aaron, 34
Douglass, Frederick, 9, 10, 26, 32, 56, 63-64, 76, 77, 78
"Douglass, Frederick," 74
Douglass, William, 63-64
Dowling, Jennie, 158
Downing, E. D., 117
Downing, George T., 42
Downing, Thomas, 30
Dred Scott Decision, 54
Du Bois, W. E. B., 22, 23
Dubuclet, treasurer of Louisiana, 126
Duckrey, James H., 57
Duckrey, Tanner G., 57
Dudley, S. H., 33
Dunbar, Paul Laurence, 169, 170
Dunbar High School, 81
Duncan, Annie E., articles by, 85, 86, 146, 150
Dungee, "Shed," 79
Dunn, Oscar J., 126, 137-138
Dupont, Pierre S., 81
Dupree, Goldstein, 140
Durham, J. J., 141
Durham, John S., 58, 67
Durrah, Fred P., 70
Dutch, attitude of, toward slavery, 28, 52
Dutrieuilles, the, 58
Dwelle, W. M., 58

E

Early, John W., 102
Eastman, Albert E. Wilson, an article by, 200, 211
Eckstein-Norton University, 81
Economic progress in New York, 30
Education of the Negro in New York, 27, 30, 47
Ellington, Duke, 33
Elliot, Robert Brown, 126, 127
Elliott, Carrie W., article by, 120
Elliott, John B., 80
Ellis, J. M., 79
Ellis, William, 159
Ellison, J. M., 81
Embree, Elihu, 101
Emerson Institute, 141
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, poem by, 3
Emerson, Walter S., 78
English and slavery, the, 52
"Environmental Basis of Prejudice in the United States as concerns the Negro," 201-203, 206, 209
Eric the Red, 155
"Estevanico, the Negro Explorer," 146, 148
Evans, G. E., 101
Evans, Henry, 101, 102
Evans, J. P., 79, 119
Exodus of 1879, 140

F

Fairbank, Calvin, 77, 172
Far West, the Negro in, 216
Fauset, Arthur, 57
Fauset, Crystal Bird, 57
Fauset, Jessie, 34
Federal Government, attitude of, 5-6
Federal Life Insurance Company, 82
Fee, John G., 81
Ferebee, Thurston, 158
Ferguson, Catherine, 31, 32
Ferrill, Loudon, 77, 78, 90, 91
Fields, W. A., 101
Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, 10
Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, 10
First Standard Bank, 89
Fisher, Rudolph, 34
Fisk University, 114-115, 118
Fleming, Beatrice Jackson, article by, 95, 110-111
Florida, two leaders in, 131; the Negro in, 124-126, 140-142
Foote, G., 177
Forten, Charlotte L., 64
Forten, James, 53, 64
Fortune, T. Thomas, 42
Foster, Abby Kelly, 55
Foster, Stephen, 55
Franklin, Benjamin, 3
Franklin, Nicholas, 77
Fraternal orders in Pennsylvania, 56
Frederick Douglass High School in Baltimore, 81
Freedmen's Bureau, 126, 141
Freedmen's Relief Associations, 141
"Freedom and Education in New York," 27
Freeman, Jacob, 140
French explorers, 148, 171
French and Indian War, 5
Frissell, H. B., 81
Furness, William, 51
Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, 55
Fuller, Solomon C., 23

G

Gaines, Mat, 140
Gales, Lewis, 102
Gandy, John M., 81
Gardner, Eliza Ann, 19
Gardner, Newport, 8
Garnet, Henry Highland, 31, 41-42, 77
Garrison, William Lloyd, 3, 10, 29, 51, 77
Garvey, Marcus, 34
Gazzan, Joseph P., 55
Geographic influences and race prejudice, 201-203, 206, 209
"George Boxley, Prototype of John Brown," 198-200
George, Claiborne, 190
Georgia, the Negro in, 101, 124-126, 140-142
Georgia, workers of merit in, 129-130
Gibbs, Jonathan C., 131
Gibbs, M. W., 196
Gibson, Rufus, articles by, 27, 43, 44, 45, 47
Gibson, Sara J., article by, 19
Gibson, Truman K., 190
Gillman, Estelle, article by, 47
Gilpin, Charles S., 33
"Girl Who Became a Great Woman, A," 123
Givens, James E., 81
Gleaves, R. H., 126
Gloucester, John, 64
Golden, G. D., 102
Golden Slippers, 61
Goler, W. H., 119
Goodell, William, 28
Goodloe, Daniel R., 100
Goodloe, D. S. S., 82
Goodman, a legislator, 101
Gordon, Robert, 78, 188
Gorsuch, the case of, 55
Graham, J. M. H., 101
Graham, W. F., 58, 79
Gray, Gladys J., article by, 18-19
Gray, John A., 78
Grayson, Hilda V., 61, 117, 154, 167
Greeley, Horace, 32
Green, Beriah, 31
Green, John P., 184-185
Greener, Richard Theodore, 10, 22
Gregg, J. E., 81
Gregory, J. M., 70, 71
Grey, Lois, 158
Grimes, Leonard A., 3, 10
Grimké, Angelina, 3
Grimké, A. H., 3, 22
Grimké, Francis James, 3, 79
Grimké, Sara, 3
Grisham, George N., 22
Grossley, R. S., 81

H

Haines, F. E. H., 123
Haines, H. V., article by, 123
Haines Institute, 141
Haiti, Negroes sent to, 78; mention of, 212
Hall, George C., 183-184
Hall, Prince, 3
Hall, Primus, 8
Hamilton, Alexander, 27, 28
Hamilton, F., 58
Hamilton, J. J., 140
Hamilton, Ross, 79
Hampton Institute, 81, 141
Hanaway, Castner, 55
Handy, W. C., 33
Haralson, Jeremiah, 126
Hare, Maud Cuney, 140
Hargrave, Frank, 70
Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins, 77, 83
Harper, Howard, 79
Harper, W. O., 79
Harriet Tubman, reviewed, 205
"Harriet Tubman," 40
Harris, George W., 33
Harris, Robert, 102
Harris, a bishop, 102
Harrison, R. B., 33, 44
Hart, Samuel B., 57
Hartgrove, Robert, 71
Hastie, William H., 159
Hathaway, J. S., 81
Hatter, Hamilton, 82
Hawkins, John Clifford, 33
Hawkins, Mason A., 80
Hawkins, Pompey L., 71
Hayden, Lewis, 10, 17-18
Hayes, D. W., 102
Hayes, G. W., 81
Hayne, Henry E., 126
Haynes, George E., 33
Haynes, Lemuel, 7-8, 13, 15-16
Heard, W. H., 58
Henderson, John, 100
Henderson, Chief Justice, 100
Henry, Patrick, 27
Henson, Josiah, 77

Hill, Jane, an article by, 66-67
Hill, John, 82
Hill, T. Edward, 79
Hinkson, De Haven, article by, 159-161, 167
Hirsch, William, articles by, 45, 46
Hodge, W. C., 101
Hollands, the, 58
Holmes, D. O. W., 82
Holmes, James, 79
Holsey, L. H., 118, 141
Hood, J. W., 102, 104
Hood, Solomon Porter, 71
Hope, John, 142-143
Hopkins, T. A., 102
Horton, George Moses, 103
Howard, E. C., 58
Howard, O. O., 80
Howard High School, 81
Howe, Arthur, 81
Howe Institute, 111
Hughes, Langston, book by, noticed, 34, 157
Hughes, Ray E., 190
Hunter, Jane E., 185, 190
Hunton, William H., 34
Hurst, John, 79
Hurston, Zora Neale, 34
Hyman, John A., 101

I

Illinois, noted men and women in, 179, 182-184
Imes, William Lloyd, 34
Immanuel Lutheran College, 111
Indentured servants, 4, 5, 6
Independent Order of St. Luke, 75, 95
Indian, the enslavement of the, 4
Indiana, persons of merit in, 178, 187-188
Indians and Negroes, 6, 124, 146, 148, 149, 151, 155
Industrial Savings Bank, 82
Institute for Colored Youth, 213
Insurance companies controlled by Negroes, 142
Irwin, James H., 57

J

Jackson, A. B., 58
Jackson, Andrew, 159
Jackson, Harvey C., articles by, 177, 187
Jackson, Isaac, 52
Jackson, J. H., 81
Jackson, May Howard, 57
Jackson, Perry B., 190
Jamaica, Negroes from, 52
James, A. L., 79, 117
James, Leonidas S., 82
Jarboro, Catarina, 34
Jason, W. C., 81
Jasper, John, 79, 95
Jefferson, Thomas, 27, 28, 171, 173, 191
"Jefferson and the Middle West," 173, 191
Jennings, Thomas, 30
John, Gopher, 149
Johnson, E. A., 33, 43
Johnson, George S., 81
Johnson, Harvey, 83, 95
Johnson, James Weldon, 46-47
Johnson, J. Albert, 58, 79
Johnson, J. Rosamond, 33
Johnson, John T., 78
Johnson, M. W., 80
Johnson, Pauline C., article by, 65-66
Johnson, Robert, 79
Johnson, W. T., 79
Johnston, James Hugo, 81
Jones, Absalom, 53, 54, 64
Jones, Alfred S., 57
Jones, B. A., article by, 128
Jones, C. C., 141
Jones, E. K., 33
Jones, Fleming A., 79
Jones, J. McHenry, 82, 94
Jones, Lois M., art class of, 158
Jones, S. T., 102
Joneses, the, 53
Jordans, the, 82
Just, E. E., 80

K

Keeble, Sampson, 101
Keith, George, 52
Kelly, Edmund, 102, 110-111
Kenney, John A., 70
Kentucky, the Negro in, 76, 77, 78
Kersands, "Billy," 33
King, L. H., 34
King, T. J., 79
Kingsley, Z., 125
Kittrell College, 111
Kline, A. B., 102
Knox, George Levi, 187-188, 190
Knox Academy, 141
Knox School, 141
Knoxville College, 111
Kruse, Edwina B., 81
Ku Klux Klan, 203

L

Laing School, 141
Lake Placid, monument to John Brown at, 32
Land owned by Negroes, 142
"Land of Visions Unlimited, The," 151, 153
Lane, David A., 80, 81
Lane, Issac, 102, 118
Lane, Lunsford, 100
Lane College, 111
Lane Seminary, 172
Laney, Lucy, 123
Langston, John M., 77, 78, 79, 81, 93
Lanusse, Armand, 163
Latimer, Catherine A., article by, 26, 38
Latrobe, J. H. B., 77
Lawson, Victor, a review by, 133
Lay, Benjamin, 52
Lee, George W., 79, 102
Lee, Joseph, 10
Leland College, 141
Le Moyne, Dr. F. J., 55
Le Moyne College, 111
Lewis and Clark's expedition, 195
Lewis, Edmonia, 9-10
Lewis, Eunice Shaed, article by, 83, 90
Lewis, James, 139
Lewis, J. H., 10, 189
Lewis, William H., 22
Liberia, 29, 34, 35
Lightfoot, James A., 71
Lincoln, Abraham, 3, 26
Lincoln, D. P., article by, 94
Lincoln Normal School, 141
Lincoln University, 56
Lindsay, Lewis, 79
Lipscombe, E. H., 102
"Little Brown Babe," 14-15
Little Stephen, 146, 148
Liverpool, Moses, 77
Livingstone College, 102
Lockerman, Joseph, 80
Loguen, J. W., 32, 40, 102
Long, Jefferson F., 126, 129
Lopez, Marcus, 195
Loring, Ellis Gray, 9
Louisiana, the Negro in, 124-126, 136-139, 140-142, 148
Louisville Municipal College, 81
Lovejoy, Elijah P., 77
Lower South, the Negro in, 124-126, 140-142
Lowery, Samuel L., 107, 112
Lucas, S. L., 71
Lundy, Benjamin, 77, 172
Lynch, James, 126
Lynch, John R., 126, 136
Lynchings explained, 209

M

M Street High School, 81
Madison, James, 27
Mahone, William, 78
Mahoney, Charles T., 190
Maine, mention of, 6
Malone, A. E., 190
Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company, 89
Mangum, W. P., 100
Manly, Charles, 100
Martin, Alexander H., 189
Mary Potter Memorial School, 102
Maryland, the Negro in, 76, 77, 78
Maryland Normal School, 82
Maryville College, 101
Mason and Dixon Line, 4
Massachusetts, slavery in, 4-5
Matzeliger, Jan E., 3
Maverick, Samuel, 4
Mayo, Anthony R., article by, 212-215
McCoy, Elijah, 187
McDonogh of Louisiana, 125
McElwee, S. A., 101, 112
McGavock, Nelson, 102
McGinnis, Charl Aretta, article by, 170, 182
McGuinn, Warner T., 78
McKay, Claude, 34
McKee, John, 57
McKenzie, L. L., article by, 94
McKenzie, Odessa, 158
McKim, J. Miller, 51
McLean, Malcolm, 81
Meacham, James Barry, 78
Meade, Bishop William, 76, 78, 140
Mechanics and Farmers Bank, 119
Mechanics Savings Bank, 89
Meharry Medical College, 111
"Men of Distinction in South Carolina," 127-128
"Men of Worth in Louisiana," 137-139
"Men of Worth from Mississippi," 135-136
Merrick, John, 106, 119
Merry, Napoleon, 102
Merry, Nelson G., 102
Merry, Preston Robert, article by, 107, 112, 113, 114
Methodists, the, 102
Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company, 89
Micanopy, the chief, 149
"Middle West, The Negro in," 171-172, 188-190
Migration, 125, 126
Miles, Ethel W., article by, 183-184
Miles, W. H., 141
Miles, W. M., 118
Miller, Thomas E., 126, 128
Miller and Lyles, 33
Miner Teachers College, 80, 82
Minton, Theophilus J., 58
Mississippi, the Negro in, 124-126, 135-136, 140-142
Mitchell, Arthur W., 190
Mitchell, Frances Waters, article by, 50-51
Mitchell, George, 58
Mitchell, J., 140
Mitchell, John, 89
Molineux, Thomas, 30
Montgomery, Isaiah T., 136
Montgomery, W. S., 80
Moon, James, 52
Moore, Fred, 33
Moore, Henry, 140
Moore, H. R., 70
Moore, P. W., 102
Moores, the, 77
Moorland, J. E., 34
Morgan, Peter, 79
Morgan College, 82
Morris, P. F., 79
Morris, Robert, 9
Morristown Normal School, 111
Morton, Ferdinand Q., 33
Mossell, N. F., 58
Mott, James, 51, 55
Mott, Lucretia, 51, 55
Mullins, Sheppard, 140
Murphy, J. H., 78, 89
Murray, George Washington, 126, 127-128
Mutual Savings and Loan Company, 89
Myrtilla Miner School, 80

N

Napier, J. C., 114
Nash, Charles E., 126, 138
National Benefit Life Insurance Company, 82
National Defense, the Negro Teacher in, 162, 167
Neau, Elias, school opened by, 28
Needham, James F., 57
Nell, William C., 9

"Negro Abraham," 149-150
"Negro in the Border States, The," 76-82, 89
"Negro in the Far West, The," 216
"Negro First to Produce Wheat, The," 147, 150
"Negro History Week in New York," 152, 153
"Negro in the Land of Cotton, The," 124-126, 140-142
"Negro in the Middle West, The," 171-172, 188-190
"Negro in New England, The," 4-10, 22-23
"Negro in New Jersey, The," 59, 70-71
"Negro in New York, The," 28-34
"Negro in the Northwest, The," 195-197, 215
"Negro in Pennsylvania, The," 52-58
Negro soldiery, 159-161, 167
"Negro in the Southwest, The," 148, 155
"Negro Teacher in National Defense, The," 162, 167
"Negro in the Upper South, The," 100-102, 111, 118, 119
Negroes and Indians, 124, 146, 148, 149, 151, 155
Negroes in the Oklahoma rush, 151, 153
Nelson, B. H., article by, 130, 142
New England, the Negro in, 4-10, 22-23; geographic conditions of, 201-202
New Hampshire, 6, 31
"New Jersey, the Negro in," 59, 70-71
New Orleans, 163-166
New York, freedom in, 27; rush in, 28
New York City, Negro History Week in, 152, 153; struggles of Negroes in, 212-215
New York Public School Society, 217
New York School Laws, 212-215
"New York State Colonization Society, The," 34-35
Newman, Naomi, article by, 87-88
Newman, William, 58
Nicholson, Allen, 102
Ninety-second Division, 161, 167
Ninety-third Division, 160
Nixon, Mrs. Rose Hampton, 158
Norman, M. W. D., 79
Norris, J. F., 101
North Carolina, the Negro in, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 111, 118, 119
"Northwest, The Negro in," 195-197, 215
Northwest Territory, Negroes sent to, 100-102; settlements in 171-172, 188-190
"Noted Men and Women in Illinois," 179, 182-184
Nutter, Isaac H., 71
Nutter, T. G., 79

O

Oberlin College, 172
Odd Fellows in Pennsylvania, 56
O'Hara, James E., 101
Ohio, the Negro in, 170, 171, 172
Oklahoma, the rush into, 151, 153
Oneida Institute, 31
Ordinance of 1787, 171, 172, 188, 190
Osceola, 124
Overton, Anthony, 190

P

Pace, Gladys E., article by, 83, 95
Pace, Harry H., 189
Page, Inman H., 22
Paige, Myles A., 33
Paige, R. G. L., 79
Palmer Memorial Institute, 111
Parker, Theodore, 10
Parris, Guichard, article by, 38, 42; reference to, 79
Parsippany, school at, 59
Paul, Thomas, 16-17, 29
Payne, Christopher, 79, 94
Payne, Daniel A., 79, 102, 174-176
Payne, Evans, 79
Payton, Philip A., 33
Pelham, Frances, 177, 186
Pelham, Benjamin, 78, 177-178
Pelham, Robert, 177, 186
Penn, William, 4
Penn School, 141
Pennington, J. W. C., 8, 31, 32, 77
Pennsylvania, the Negro in, 50-58
Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, 53
People's Dime Savings Bank, 89
Perkins, A. E., article by, 163-166
Perkins, Caesar, 79
Perkins, R. J., 79
Perry, Christopher J., 67-68
Perry, Oliver H., 159
"Persons of Merit in India," 178,187-188
Pettiford, W. R., 141
Phelps, J. H., 140
Phenix, George P., 81
Phillips, Charles, article by, 152
Phillips, Wendell, 3, 10
Phoenix Bank, 89
Pinchback, P. B. S., 126, 138-139
"Pioneers and Builders in Michigan," 177, 186-187
Piper, Henry, 78
Pittsburgh, Negroes in, 56
Platt, William, 30
Poindexter, James, 174
Points Bridge, bravery at, 28
Polk, Leonidas, 125, 141
Pompey, a companion of Lewis and Clark, 195
Pompey with Anthony Wayne at Stony Point, 28
Poor, Salem, 7, 159
Population, figures of, 209
Powell, A. C., 34
Powell, William, 159
Powell, William Frank, 71
Powell, W. H. R., 81
Pratt, H. T., 80
Prejudice, the environmental basis of, 201-203, 206, 209
Price, J. C., 102, 110
Prigg Case, 55
Prillerman, Byrd, 82, 94-95
"Priority of the Negro, The," 192
Progress Made by Negroes, 142
Progressive ideas, 141
Prosser, Gabriel, 76
Prosser, George T., 79
Pryde, Marion J., articles by, 86, 87, 110
Public School Society, 213
Pueblos, the discovery of, 146, 150
Purvis, Charles B., 159
Purvis, Robert, 53, 54, 65-66

Q

Quakers, 4, 27, 171, 172; slavery among the, 52, 53, 54-55, 56-58; in New Jersey, 59; in the South, 100, 101
Quapaws, the, 149, 150

R

Railey, H. H., 79
Rainey, Joseph H., 126, 127
Randolph, Juletta, 158
Randolph, L. H., 58
Randolph, Oliver, 71
Rankin, John, 101
Ransier, Alonzo J., 126
Rapier, James T., 126, 134
Rapier, John, 159
Rawley, Henry, 102
Ray, Charles Bennett, 32
Reason, Charles L., 31, 32, 212-215
Reason, Patrick, 31, 212, 213, 214, 215
Reconstruction, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134-138, 140-141
Reddick, L. D., articles by, 34, 38, 42
Reddick, Ruth, articles by, 40, 43
Reed, William L., 21-22
Reed, Colonel William N., 159
Reeve, John B., 58, 79
"Regional Study of the Negro," 2
Relations of Indians and Negroes, 148, 155
Relief, 142
Remond, Charles Lenox, 9, 10, 17
Reynolds, Hobson, 57
Reynolds, C. R., 160
Reynolds, Calvin S., 189
Revels, Hiram R., 126, 135
Rhode Island, the Negro in, 5
Rhodes, E. Washington, 57
Rhodes, Juliana Willis, article by, 183
Rice, W. A., a founder of a school, 70
Rice, Father, 79
Richards, Fannie M., 177
Richards, the, 78
Richmond Beneficial Life Insurance Company, 82, 83
Ridley, U. S., 10
Rillieux, Norbert, 163
Riots in Philadelphia, 54
Rivers, D. F., 79, 101
Rivers, Francis Ellis, 33
Roanoke Branch, 154
Robeson, Paul, 33
Roberts, J. J., 78
Roberts, Nicholas Franklin, 102
Roberts, S., 140
Robinson, "Bojangles," 33
Rock, John S., 3, 9
Rogers, Nathaniel P., 32
Roger William University, 111
Rose, David, 7
Roy, J. H., 116
Ruby, G. T., 140
Ruffin, George Lewis, 9, 18-19
Ruggles, David, 3, 39, 40
Russell, G. P., 81
Russwurm, John B., 38
Rutherford, S. W., 82
Ryland, Robert, 77, 78

S

St. Christopher, Negroes from, 52
Saint Monica's Home, 3
St. Phillips Church, 29, 213, 214
Saint Luke Penny Saving Bank, 75, 95
Salem, Peter, 7
Saunders, Cecelia Cabaniss, 34
Saunders, W. W., 80
Saundle, J. S., 80
Sandiford, Ralph, 52
"Saturday Morning Art Class," 158
Savage, Augusta, 34
Savary, Captain, 163
Savings Bank in Danville, Virginia, 89
Schofield Industrial School, 141
Schomburg, Arthur A., 34
Scotch-Irish, 76
Scott, Emmett J., 159
Scott, Henry, 30
Second Street Savings Bank, 89
Sectional history, 2
Séjour, Victor, 163-166, 167
Seminoles, the, 149, 150
Settle, Josiah T., 113-114
Seward, William H., 32
Shackelford, J. D., 116
Shaffer, George H., 102
Shakespeare in Harlem, reviewed, 157
Shaw, Robert Gould, monument to, 3
Shaw University, 102
Shepard, James E., 102
Shepard, M. L., 57
Shields, Jacob, 102
Shorter, James S., 102
Sidney, Thomas S., 31
Simmons, Mrs. L. M., 158
Simmons, William J., 79, 91-92
Sims, George H., 34

Sims, R. P., 82
Sims, Thomas, 10
Singleton, "Pap," 140-141
Singleton, Velma, article by, 115-116
Sipkins, Henry, 32
Slavery, the beginnings of, 4-5, 28-29, 50-56, 59; interpretation of, 201-203, 206, 209
Smalls, Robert, 126, 127
Smith, E. C., 80
Smith, E. E., 102
Smith, Gerrit, 29
Smith, Harry C., 189
Smith, J. B., 111
Smith, James McCune, 29, 32
Smith, J. F., 10
Smith, R. L., 140
Smothers, Henry, 77
Smythe, J. H., 79
Snow Riot in Washington, D. C., 77
Snowden, J. B., 79
Society for the Free Instruction of Orderly Blacks and People of Color, 53
Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, 27, 28
Soils, relation of, to climate, 202-203
Sojourner Truth in Action, 25; sketch of, 26
"Sojourner Truth," 26
Solomons, Olivia Stead, article by, 19-21
Sons and Daughters of Peace Penny, Nickel and Dime Bank, 89
South, the Negro in, 124-126, 140-142; geographic influences in, 201-202
South Carolina, the Negro in, 124-126, 127-128, 140-142
Southern Aid Society, 82
Southey, William, 52
Southland College, 141
"Southwest, The Negro in," 148, 155
Spanish explorers, 146, 148, 155
Spaulding, C. C., 119
Spivey, Mary Elizabeth, article by, 185-186
State University, 81
Stephens, James E., 33
Stevens, Andrew F., 58
Steward, Frank, 58
Steward, William H., 91
Stewart, John, 77
Still, William, 49, 50-51
Still, William Grant, 34
Stillman Institute, 141
Stokes, W. H., 79
Storer College, 82
Stories of the Underground Railroad, 23
Storrs School, 141
Storum, James, 81
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 26
Stowe Teachers College, 82
Straight University, 141
Stratton, Daniel, 79
Stuart, Jane P., article by, 178, 187
Study, regional, of the Negro, 2
Sumner, Charles, 9
Sumner High School, 82
Sydnor, L. A., 154
Sykes, Lillian E., article by, 114
Sykes, Thomas, 101
Swift Memorial College, 111

T

Tabbanor, Mae, article by, 45
Talbor, S. D., 102
Talladega College, 141
Tanner, Benjamin Tucker, 55, 66
Taos, the discovery of, 146, 150
Tappan, Arthur, 32, 33
Tappan, Lewis, 29, 32
Tate, Inez D., article by, 182-183
Taylor, C. T., 82
Taylor, Preston, 119
Taylor, William, 158
Tennessee, the Negro in, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 111, 118, 119
Terrell, Mary Church, 122
Terrell, Robert Heberton, 22
Terrell, S. F., 154
Terry, Watt, 33
Texas, the Negro in, 124, 125, 126, 139, 140, 141, 142, 148
They Knew Lincoln, reviewed, 167
Thompson, Edwin, 57
Thurman, 158
Tindlay, Albert E., 58
Tobacco, 202, 203
Tobias, Channing H., 34
Toney, Charles E., 33
Topp, Henry, 30
Torrey, Charles T., 77
Tougaloo College, 141
Townsend, James Matthew, 178, 189
Treaty of 1763, 171
Trinity Normal School, 141
Trotter, William Monroe, 23
Trowers, the, 58
True Reformers Bank, 82
Truth, Sojourner, 25, 26
Tubman, Harriet, 32, 77, 87, 88, 172
Tucker, Alpheus, 159
Turner, Benjamin S., 126, 134
Turner, G. C., 116
Turner, H. M., 126, 130, 141
Turner, Nat, 76, 77
Turner Normal, 111
Turner, James Milton, 191
Turner, Shadrach B., 190
Tuskegee Institute, 122, 123, 141
Twelfth Baptist Church, 3
Tyler, J. A., 102
Tyree, Evans, 102

U

Uncles, Father, 79
Underground Railroad, 76
Union Literary Institute, 188
Universal Life Insurance Company, 119
Upper South, the Negro in, 100-102, 111, 118, 119

V

Valentine, W. R., 70
Vance, Governor, 101
Vanderhost, R. H., 118, 141
Vann, R. L., 58
Varick, James, 29
Vashon High School, 82
Vaughn, Richard, 53
Vermont, 6
Vick, S. H., 119
"Victor Séjour and His Times," 163-166
Victoria, the Negro in, 196
Virginia, the Negro in, 76, 77, 78, 81, 101
Virginia State College, 81
Vorhees Industrial School, 141

W

Walden College, 111
Waldron, J. Milton, 79
Walker, A. M., 119
Walker, Madame C. J., 33, 178, 187, 190
Walker, David, 31
Walker, George, 33
Walker, Maggie L., 75, 82, 83, 95
Walker, Rhoza A., article by, 162, 167
Walker, Vivian S., article by, 114-115
Walls, Joshia T., 126, 131
Walrond, Eric, 34
Walters, Alexander, 79
Walton, Lester, 33
Warbourg, Eugene, 163, 164
Ward, Samuel R., 29, 41, 77
Waring, J. H. N., 80
Waring, Laura Wheeler, 57
Warrick-Fuller, Meta Vaux, 20, 23, 57
Washington, Booker T., 77, 121, 122, 141
Washington, George, 27, 173
Washington, George, a Negro, the founder of Centralia, 194, 196, 197
Washington, John E., 167
Washington, J. H., 140
Washington, Sara Spencer, 70
Washington, Pennsylvania, 55
Waters Normal School, 102, 111
Watson, James S., 33
Watty, Hirman, 78
Wayland Seminary, 141
Wayman, A. W., 141
Webb, Sara, 177
Webster, Delia, 77, 172
Weld, Theodore D., 3, 172
Wellington, Muriel B., article by, 18
Wells, I. J. K., 80
Wells, Richard, 79
West Virginia State College, 82
Western Reserve, 172
"Wheat, The Negroes first to Produce," 147, 150
Wheatley, Phillis, 6-7, 14-15
Whipper, William, 55
Whitbeck, Preston, 177
White, George H., 58, 101, 102, 105-106
White, Luella G., article by, 174-176
White, Sampson, 77
White, Walter F., 34
White, William, 53
White, W. J., 141
Whitney, Eli, 124, 125
Whyte, Clarence R., 57
Wilcox, Samuel T., 188
Wilder, A., 140
Wilkinson, G. C., 80
"William Still," 50-51
Williams, B. F., 140
Williams, Daniel H., 183
Williams, Dorothy Shaed, article by, 88-90
Williams, Egbert A., 33, 45
Williams, Fannie Barrier, 190-191
Williams, George W., 189
Williams, Gilbert, 102
Williams, Peter, 29
Williams, R., 140
Williams, William, 77
Wilson, Joseph T., 78
Wilson, Woodrow, 160
Winslow, Sidney W., 3
Wood, F. M., 80, 81
Woods, Robert C., 81
Woodson, Carter G., 158
Woodson, Lewis, 56
Woolman, John, 52
Work, John Wesley, Jr., 115-116
Worlds, J. J., 102
Wormley, Maria, 77
Wortham, James L., 100
Wright, Edward, 190
Wright, J. J., justice of South Carolina, 126
Wright, Bishop R. R., 58
Wright, Major R. R., 58
Wright, Theodore S., 31
Wright, Wilbur, 190

Y

York, the body servant of Captain Clark, 195
Young, Colonel Charles, 185-186
Young, P. B., 89

Z

Zuni, the discovery of, 146, 150